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JULY, 1947

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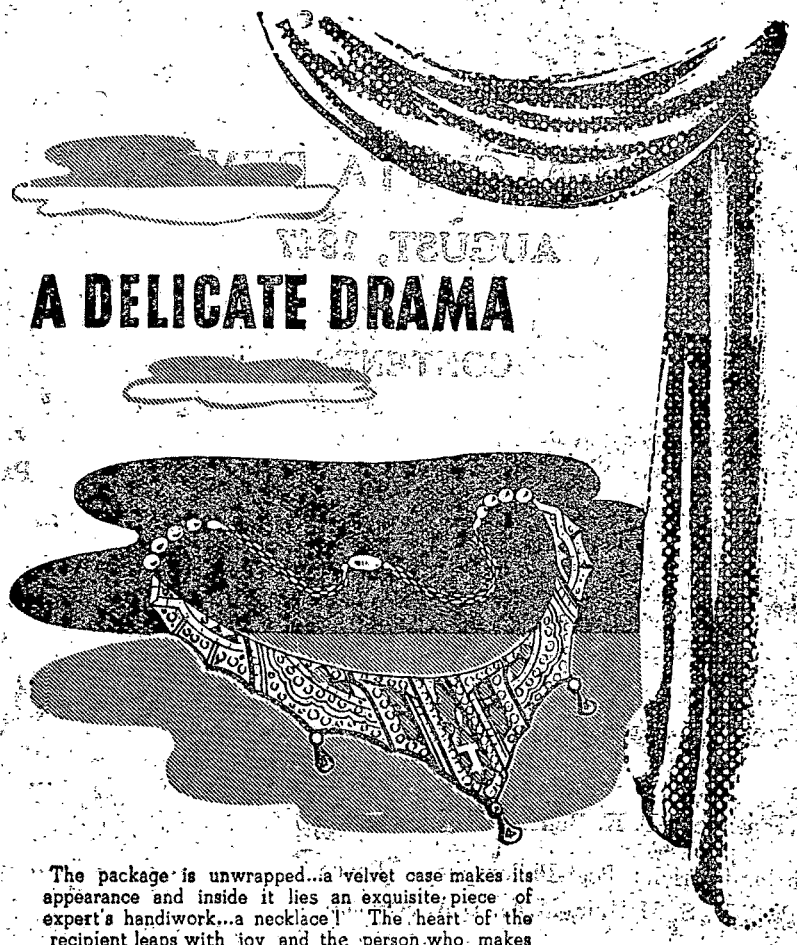

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CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1947

REALISM IN MODERN ACADEMIC LIFE

J. K. CHAKRAVARTY

Presidency College, Calcutta

FOR sometime past I have felt a burden. It seems necessary that certain observations are made on the current trend of the educational life of the province. Freedom the cherished ideal of the modern university life, stands for, among many other things a wide latitude of choice of studies. Years ago the universities here, as elsewhere, seemed to have been dominated by the idea of a hierarchical order of studies, some of which, viewed superior to others, were looked upon as indispensable in any complete scheme of liberal education. At the background was working a philosophy of life which none thought advisable of challenging. It taught men to believe. Life, of all goods, is not the highest. Mere living is no good. There is something higher and nobler to which the craving for mere food and drink must be subordinated. The university stood forth to uphold the dignity and glory of this noble living. To the edification of life one thing was considered essential. It is that the humanistic studies, above everything else, should have a claim upon the scholar's attention, and the university had no hesitation in putting them up in the curriculum as imperative for all.

With the rise of democracy the traditional order of things in the university came to be affected. If all men, in the eye of God, are equal it stands to reason why all branches of learning, to the votary of truth, should have equal status. The spirit of modern science joins hands with democracy in exposing the myth of distinctions of rank

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in learning. Truth, science tells us, does not suffer by reason of differences in the topic to which it relates. If life in the university means a life given to the quest of truth that purpose is well served by any studies to which a scholar, by taste and temperament, feels inclined.

Modern science and democracy has thus brought in a new temper of idealism in the university—a catholicity of views which stands in sharp contrast to the older aristocratic tradition with its predilection for class distinctions among various studies. Against a background of narrow parochialism there has sprung forth a new spirit of cosmopolitanism which places all learning on a common footing. The older tradition in the present setting does not look liberal enough and that is why it is giving way.

People in earlier generations however thought otherwise. They were carried by the impression that mere scholarship, not consecrated to the service of life, is a sheer mockery of education. If we value truth it is because truth, of all other goods, lends to easy assimilation for edification of life. When truth, irrespective of the matter to which it relates, is sought as an end in itself there is spectacular glamour about it no doubt, but so long as it remains divorced from life it degenerates into pedantry and arrogance. Advancement of learning in any direction, at any cost, is a commendable spirit simply because it purifies life of bigotry and narrowness. But beyond this negative service it stands in need of fulfilment in a positive manner. Education imparted through Classics and such Masterpieces of Art as have stood the test of time can be counted upon to fill life with a content which sustains and elevates humanity beyond mere ephemerality. In the scholar's devotion to truth preference must be shown to studies which reveal man at his best. The purely democratic cult that lays down, all learning is of same order, and asks us to accept anything near at hand is the shipwreck of education.

The crying need of the hour is not to let the student enter the university until he has made up his mind as to what service he seeks from it. He should be educated at the outset as to what education is to do for him. If when he joins the university without his mind made up he finds all the portals of learning are flung wide open he may, in the spirit of liberalism, enter through any one and feel that it is as good as any other. But by so doing he simply forfeits the substance of education. Education, to be effective, should be dis-

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criminative of the matter to which it relates. There are things on earth knowledge of which may be put off with impunity, but there are things study of which must be made imperative for every thinking spirit. On the deep things of life there must be earnest thinking by every student. The cult of cosmopolitanism has made man forget the essentials of education. All the various studies in the university must be put in a graded order of which some at the lower grades might be left to the option of the learner but the topranking ones should be pressed for reverential study by every university alumnus.

It will be argued against us that by this venture in the name of liberal education, we are lapsing into illiberalism and forsaking idealism in a move towards authoritarianism. Moreover if emphasis is really shifted to what matters in life it will not take long to see that it is not the barren body of humanistic studies that have contributed to the amenities of life. Rather our debt has been mainly to the large army of scientific workers in the various fields of external nature that have built that vast edifice of knowledge on which so much of our comfort and happiness depend. If parochialism is to prevail humanism will have a poor case to defend. This is exactly what we are witnessing today. Great centres of learning which used to attract students in hundreds to listen to edifying discourses on Plato or Shakespeare, Sankar or Kalidas, are being deserted, whereas lectures on Malthus and Marx are awaited with eagerness by multitudes. A still larger number is flocking to Physics and Chemistry where prospects of novel discoveries keep the audience in tense suspense. It was with considerable charity that science agreed to "equal hospitality" to all learning, but if preferential treatment is advocated on the basis of subject matter there will be no case for art and literature. The complaint is often heard that philosophy has outlived its usefulness so that in any future university scheme no provision need be made for the faculty of philosophy. In the same way it is being urged that the study of classics and literature may also be neglected and all money thus spared may be applied to the study of the natural sciences. Herein we have a new form of realism threatening to outstrip the older classical form.

Both forms of realism sprang from the realisation that the true end of education lies in fulfilment of life—giving it a content that ensures its being and character. But in the ancient order there was

an implied assumption that life does not mean mere getting on in the world. Modern realism on the contrary, does not enthuse over any vague excellence to be earned through sacrifice of the basic necessaries of life. Its real concern is with life of flesh and blood which must be advanced by an abundant provision of food and drink etc. Life is of all goods, the highest, so that whatever learning shows the way to this goal has to be encouraged. I do not say that the study of science is necessarily prompted by utilitarian considerations. Far from it. Among scientists are to be found men of character of the highest spiritual elevation. With all this, when we proceed to account for the growing enthusiasm among young learners for science and economics and a steady decline in number for art and literature we cannot help observing that even the universities are failing in their mission of enlightening man as to what constitutes the true blessedness of life,—the end of education.

Perhaps the evils of poverty, sickness and starvation have been too long allowed to prey upon man. And in deep enguish the soul of man is forced to abjure itself. To say it is inevitable is a confession of failures and frustrations of all our educational endeavours. To me, however, the failure is more than a failure. It marks a tragedy in the educational life of the province.

It is no use denying that the urgency for economic uplift demands pulling together all our knowledge and skill. There is no need for the youths of the land to turn to science in large number. The sooner it is done the happier we shall be on that score. But to run away with the impression that proficiency in some branch of science alone completes the educational aspirations of man is apt to bring about maladies in life,—individual and social alike. We should beware of the evils of unmitigated realism in modern universities.

At the same time we must not forget the dangers of forsaking realism. The first thing demanded of a learner is that he secures a firm foothold on what he is after. He must cultivate a thorough and firsthand acquaintance with all manner of details falling within the range of his subject-matter. There is greater virtue in going deep into a subject than skipping over a vast range of topics on the mere surface. The temper of realism abstains from glossy superficiality and is not afraid of cold touches here and there.

If knowledge is to develop into real power it must make sure that there are no week links in its chain. It must be all of a piece, bearing the impress of perfection in each and every detail. To

smuggle weak stuff in the body of its texture is a temptation few can resist. To guard against this sin the learner must start with a hard and exacting mind able to withstand the effusions of the heart. His field of investigation must be sharply circumscribed. It is only when one knows the task allotted to him that he can measure the distance of the journey before him, and having no illusions of success advance by sure steps to the end of the destination. Division of labour in the field of knowledge has made it possible for investigators to specialise in their respective departments. This is how the foundations of the grand edifice of knowledge and science, were laid. Unless the scholars were imbued with the spirit of realism nothing like this would have been achieved.

There is nothing wrong in acknowledging all we owe to realism in the temple of learning. It is to the credit of realism that knowledge has gone through a process of purification and acquired a scientific status. Yet we cannot help feeling that the type of realism that has brought about the regeneration of science has not been realistic enough. An allround realism is the only cure of the ill with which our current life in the university is suffering.

Delimitation of territories in the domain of learning has encouraged specialisation but it has made the scholar grow insular and unmindful of what lies beyond his province. It has even bred into him the conceit that nothing that lies beyond has any worth. As specialisation is being overemphasised his power of appreciative insight into the whole truth of things is steadily fading. To the myopic the little that is visible is not seen aright. Unless the perspective is widened there is the danger of deception which is all the more serious because of the self-complacency of the deceived. By reducing education to a piecemeal process without emphasising the need of getting in touch with the whole of reality our universities are losing the integrity of education.

In our physical nourishment we insist on our food being a whole food; unless it were the whole food it can't be wholesome. On the same analogy we must ask for a system of education that aims at meeting the needs of a whole man. Whatever education falls short of a complete integer cannot have the merit of even a partial education. A partial education is worse than no education, for herein there is nothing that can move and inspire the soul of man. When our universities make it permissible for a student to go through his educational career with any branch of learning as he pleases and

raises no warning as to its limitations it is bound to recoil upon the life of the university as well as its alumni.

If we say life is not of all goods, the highest we feel the urgency, in the same breath of revising it and saying with greater emphasis life is of all goods the highest. When life is viewed in fragments and people think of education as concerned with isolated, fragmentary interests therein we have neither a wholesome education nor the good of life. Taken in the wrong perspective life is not a thing of value. Yet it would be a disaster if by such reflections we turn away from life. There is no worthier thing to strive after save and except the vision of a beautiful life. Even pursuit of truth as an end in itself has to yield to this. Let us not go into ecstasies over science on the ground that it embodies disinterested search of truth. There is no truth to inspire us unless it be a truth to touch and ennoble the heart and will of man. Above everything else we love our life —the whole of it—and we seek intimacy with it. Those of us who in poverty of talent and lack of love cannot raise and appreciate the beauty of this life have to fall at the feet of those Masterminds of ages who have found and vindicated the glory of life in all its varied shades in their unique inimitable forms of expressions. This is the true significance of education. Upon every youngman as he enters the university the basic truth must be impressed that his primary concern is to realise life—the one indivisible, integral life, in all its beauty, mystery and sublimity. When our universities, in the impact of the surging storms ahead, falter in this noble endeavour nothing can save education from ending in a tragedy.

MOLIÈRE

M. M. Desai, M.A.

Once Louis XIV, well-known as the Sun-king of France, inquired of the famous critic Boileau, the Royal Historiographer what writer Boileau considered had shed most lustre on his reign. Without hesitation Boileau replied, "Molière." There were giants in those days like Pascal, Corneille, Racine, Bossuet, La Fontaine, each a great master in a particular branch of literature. But Boileau's verdict was just and has been confirmed by posterity. Among the many passages of praise by Molière's peers on the Olympian heights one may quote one of the many enconiums on Molière by the great German poet Goethe. "Molière is so great that every time one re-reads him one is filled with astonishment. I read every year some of his plays. I have known and loved Molière from my youth up and have learned from him during my whole life. It is not only the consumate artist that delights me it is especially the loveable nature, the high culture of the poet. He is a man by himself."

I

Molière's biography like that of Shakespeare has been an object of intense research both loving and animating. Archives have been ransacked, municipal records, money receipts, theatrical performances, legal documents, contemporary references all have been carefully gone through. He has been an object of judicious and injudicious adulations and condemnations. Thus we know a great deal of Molière from all these records about him but the inner man is difficult to get at. He was careless about the publication of his plays. His widow neglected his manuscripts and unpublished and incomplete works. Not one letter of his has survived.

Jean Baptiste Poquelin was probably born in Paris on 15th January 1622. He came from a family of upholsterers whose fortunes were built upon the substantial virtues of the middle class. His father was a man of solid middle class virtues, hard-working and

cautious. Very little is known about his mother's character and disposition. She died when he was ten and her death left a lacuna in his life which is reflected in his plays wherein mothers' rôles are rare, but those of fathers' are more frequent and almost always they are widowers. Young Poquelin's relations with his father were cordial and later when he decided to join the stage the father resisted the son and finally had to give in but there is no evidence of any bitterness on either side and it is to the credit of both. He was educated at the Parish School of Notredame, Paris, where he picked up the three Rs and later he studied at the Collège de Clairmont managed by the Jesuits, the most conscientious teachers in the world and under them he got sound education and good company of blood and brain and wealth. He was at this institution from 1631 to 1639. He was reported to have been called to the bar. At that time law was undoubtedly an ass. Any youngman who could smatter in Latin and pay the necessary fees might be called to the bar. At any rate Molière in his plays deals familiarly with legal matters and he never makes a mistake. In 1637 his father secured for him the succession to his office as valet tapissier du roi; this brought him in contact with the court and the courtiers.

But young Poquelin was not destined to lead the hum-drum life of a tradesman or a minor court official. Attracted by the lure of the stage and coming in contact with the members of the Béjart family particularly Madeleine Bèjart, the talented actress he gave up his prospects of sure tradesman's success and staid bourgeois career for the will-o-the-wisp of theatrical Bohemian life. He surrendered his claims to the port at Court, realised his rights in his mother's property and invested the proceeds in a theatrical company in 1643 in which the Béjarts and other theatrical friends joined him. Thus he abandoned the stage of the world for the world of the stage. It was indeed a bold step on his part. He was socially degrading himself. The actors then were classed with beggars, vagabonds, mountbanks and other social outcasts. Now he gave up the family name and took up the theatrical name of Molière which he made very illustrious.

This new theatrical company known as *L'Illustre Thèâtre* began its career in a former tennis court in Paris, set up with little money and equipment. The rivalry of the firmly established Hôtel de Bourgone, the failure of his company in acting tragedies and financial losses compelled the new company to quit Paris. Micawber like

Molière, the leader of the company was in and out of jail several times on account of theatrical debts. The company left Paris in 1646 and for twelve years it toured the different provinces of France. His long odyssey in the provinces is full of legends; he left Paris at the age of 23 and returned at the age of 36 but this was a very valuable training period for him both as an actor and as a dramatist. Scarron's *Roman Comique* furnishes a vivid picture of the life of the wandering comedians in the middle of the seventeenth century. During this period Molière passed through various adventures and misadventures, adopted, wrote plays for his company, acted as a friend, guide, peace-maker, and trouble-smoother to his motley troupe and by his tact and sympathy secured the affection and loyalty of his fellow actors. His own first play *L' Etourdi* (The Blunderer) was acted at Lyons in 1653 or 1655.

Molière returned to Paris with his company and acted for the first time before the King on October 24, 1658, in *Le Docteur Amoureux* (Love Cupid). Paris and the Court were taken by the storm. Molière had now "arrived." He became the King's protègè and was reconciled with his father and success brought him many enemies and some friends among the latter were men of letters like Boileau, Racine, and La Fontaine. During his life and afterwards Molière was a constant targets for lampoons a libels and a prolific source of legends and conjectures. The conceit loving ladies of the Hôtel de Rambouillet and their male admirers became his enemies because he ridiculed them in his laughter provoking play *Les Précieuses Ridicules*. The Marquis, the pedants the doctors, the dèvots all were incensed against him because he exposed their follies. They continued to prosecute him to the end of his life and beyond. At the age of forty he married Armand Bèjart, the youngest of the Bèjart girls, a born coquette and an accomplished actress who was then 19. She was temperamentally unsuited to him. The marriage was unfortunate and a prolific source of much malicious and injudicious inkshed. Moliére enjoyed the king's favour, played very often before the Court, supplied several playes and entertainments for the Court. His later life was marred by ill-health and domestic worries.

On the fourth representation of his last play *Le Malade Imaginaire* on February 17, 1673, he was really sick when playing the part of an imaginary sickman and had a fit of cough, broke a blood vessel, fell down and was dead within an hour. The clergyman now had their hour of revenge and would not grant him a decent christian

burial because he died without having foresworn his actors' profession as required by the ecclesiastical regulations of those days. He was followed by a large concourse of poor Parisians to his unhonoured grave. In 1792 the French Revolution wanted to honour its great national dramatist; the Revolution decreed a national burial for Molière but the bones that were exhumed were not those of Molière who remains to this day burried in an unknown grave.

The love of the footlight tempted him from the comfortable and quiet life of his father's profession. When his father was dying or dead in February, 1669, Molière played the part of Tartuffe at Luxembourgh. When his infant son died he did not absent himself from his duties on the stage. The Academic française urged by Boileau was prepared to receive him as one of its members on condition that Molière would abandon the actor's profession and confine himself to writing plays but Molière refused to abandon the actor's rôles and was therefore denied this much coveted honour. In 1778 Molière's bust was admitted in the Academy and honourable amends were made in the inscription under it. "Nothing is lacking to his glory but he was lacking to our own." On the last day of his life when his wife and the young actor Baron begged him not to act his part that day because he was ill he said; "what do you wish me to do? There are forty workers who have their daily wages to earn. What will they do if there is no play?" He was a martyr to his work and nothing became him so much as the manner of his dying. He was a grave, melancholy, generous, candid, sympathetic, tolerant, gentle, free and fearless man. This satirist of folly was a man of infinite charity. He died in harness, a soldier of the stage, standing at his post.

II

Between 1653 or 55 and 1673 from *L'Etourdi* (The Blunderer) to *Le Malade Imaginaire* (The Hypochondriac) Molière wrote and represented on the stage 33 plays. 12 out of which were comedie-ballets and which may be classified as farces (7), comedies of intrigue (4), comedies of manners (9), comedies of character (5), comedy (1), heroic comedy (1), tragi-comedy (1), romances (2), social satire and dramatic criticism (1), pastoral (1), and heroic pastoral (1). Several of thsee plays were hastily composed, some of them for special occa-

sions like court pageants and entertainments and consequently they were frankly jerry-built structures, a thing of the passing moment with no thought for publication or posterity. However half of the total number of his plays have survived the test of time and have secured for Molière the reputation of being the most delicious comic-writer of the world. His best plays are his comedies of manner and characters. They became the pleasure grounds of the world. John Barley wrote: "So long as civilisation remains Molière remains."

It is but natural that the greatest comic genius of France should provoke comparison with the greatest dramatist of England. Dr. Humbert in Germany and Stapher in France have compared Molière with Shakespeare. It is interesting to note the similarities of their temperaments and destinies. Both were sons of merchants, both were educated in the university of life; both exercised early in life the practice of life in a painful and upright medium; both were unfortunate in their matrimonial life; both deliberately chose the Bohemian theatrical profession; and both in the midst of their Bohemian theatrical environment preserved a delicacy of sentiment correctness of judgment and nobility of thought which survived, not without repentence or remorse their worst disorders, both showed a keen business sense rarely associated with the artists, both knew the art of managing the varied temperaments they met in the course of their theatrical careers; both were actors and authors; both showed the same passion for the art they exercised, the same devotion to their fellow-workers, the same fertility in their dramatic creations, the same disregard of mere bookish learning and the same zest for life, the same absence of vanity and pride and possession of warm and tender disposition and healthy outlook on life; both neglected to publish properly their immortal works during their life time; both died at the age of 51 in the full possession of their creative power, the Englishman in retirement at his native bower, the Frenchman died on active service.

With such similarities in faculties and disposition it is no wonder that in their works in spite of disparate appearances there is a general basis of similarities. Both show the same need of frankness and truth, the same love of what is living, healthy and natural, the same penetration in guessing the secret springs of sentiments and human passions the same wonderful skill in creating strongly condensed characters on the stage with gestures and decisive words.

But we must not stress the similarities too far. The differences too have to be noted. Molière is a lesser poet and artist than Shakespeare. Molière did not possess to the same degree Shakespeare's divine gift of poetic utterance and sublime flights of imagination, nor had he Shakespeare's intense lyrical quality. Moliere is a social dramatist content to paint man as he is, delineating the follies and fribles of man in relation to society and family. Shakespeare often paints not the social man but the elemental man, probes deeply the secrets of human personality and paints them in showing unforgettable language. Differences in nationalities, manners, social and political conditions are reflected in their works. Both of them addressed themselves to the soul of their race. Molière through vivacity, lucidity, simplicity, distinctness of his familiar language, the just compass of his joyful and moral raillery profoundly remains a Frenchman, Gallo-Romain of the 17th century; Shakespeare through the picturesque sonority, exuberant abundance of his lyrical eloquence, his escape to extrenal nature, his contrasts of tragical emotions and sentimental subtleties remains an Englishman Calto-Saxon-Norman of the 16th century. Both were practical dramatists who learned their art in the laboratory of the theatre, the stage was their workshop. Molière, however, was a better actor than Shakespeare. He often acted the great comic parts in his plays, chosing the ridiculous and half-humorous rôles in them. His best successes were Alcerte in his masterpiece *Le Misanthrope* and *M. Jourdain* in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and surely the actor who filled these two rôles can claim very nearly to have "filled all numbers" as far as non-romantic comedy goes. A contemporary of Molière wrote "Everything spoke in him, and with a step, a smile, a glance and a shake of the head he made people conceive more things than the greatest speaker could say in an hour." But Molière's art was limited in its scope and climate. As Saintsbury, the doyen of English criticism, stated: "The essence of Molière is neither in style and form, nor even in the Shakesperean power of investing everything with life but in the habit of regarding all the world as so much material to be taken or rejected as laughter can or cannot be made out of it." This states both the strength and limitation of Molière's dramatic art.

III

Before turning to the discussion of the chief characteristics of Molière as a dramatist it may be interesting to glance, over some

of his well-known plays. *L'Etourdi* (The Blunderer : 1653 or 1655) is a comedy of artifice. It consists of a series of episodes, in which the valet Mascurille tries ingeniously to win Gélia, a beautiful slave for his master, inventing one ruse after another and every time his trick is defeated by his master's untimely intervention and innocence. The master is the blunderer. Mascurille is the familiar rascal invented by the Greek, borrowed by the Romans, inherited by the Italians, imitated by the French and handed on by Molière to Beaumarchais. He had lived on the European stage for 2,000 years. *L'Etourdi* is the second imperishable comedy in the French language after Corneilles *Le Menteur* (The Liar) in spite of its careless construction, disregard of time, place and probability. Victor Hugo stated that the dialogue of *L'Etourdi* is the best that Molière ever wrote.

Les Précieuses Ridicules (The Ridiculous precious, 1659) is a play in which Molière laid the foundations of a true national comedy. It was a gay, mischievous and destructive attack on a pernicious fashion. In this play Molière attacked the Hôtel de Rambouillet with its arty atmosphere, affectation of feeling and expression without reference to genuine emotion or commonsense. The Hôtel de Rambouillet represented a product of cultural in-breeding. The language of the exquisites is beautifully represented in this play; for them the footman is a " requisite," the looking-glass is " a companion of graces," the chair is a " commodity of conversation." Molière destroyed the fashion in one single afternoon. It created for Molière life long enemies among the discomfited exquisites. But the comedy was so successful that people flocked for the next six months to see it at Paris from a distance of 60 miles. Though the form of the play is farce its substance prevails over it and we have to accept it as a comedy of manners. It was his first comedy of satire and observation.

Les Fâcheux (The Bores, 1661), his first *comédie-ballet* was put together in 15 days. It is a play without a subject and almost without a plot. The slight plot such as it has centres about the fact that Eraste, lover of Paphise, in his efforts to see her is constantly interrupted by a series of bores, each a hit on a contemporary type or person. The intrigue serves no purpose but to bring on the scene a musician, a pedant, gamester, etc. This galaxy of bores who are tedious in real life but are very amusing in his plays supplies all the comic diversion of the play.

L'Ecole des Maris (1661), *L'Ecole des Femmes* (1662), and *La*

Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes (1663) may be considered together. The first two are thesis plays but unlike modern thesis plays their thesis is never permitted to obtrude itself too much and everything is saturated in the comic presentation of the humour of character and situation. The first of these three plays is a comedy in which Molière's comic genius is revealed to the full. Too elderly brothers seeking to marry their respective young wards represent the right and the wrong way of setting about the business and the system of education followed by them. Though the incidents of the play are farcical the character of Sganarelle, is Molière's first masterpiece of comic portraiture in which the almost pathological egoism of his character is handled with a supreme understanding. Sganarelle is a man of complexes before the modern jargon of complexes became a commonplace of third class criticism. The play is a true social comedy based on observation of life and manners and there is for the first time in the history of French literature a complete character not merely a humour. The system of repression and its inefficacy are exposed and the need of intelligent and understanding freedom justified in this play. Its companion play, *L'Ecole des Femmes* is also a thesis play and a comedy of manners. It is a coherent and forcible challenge of modern times to the Miltonic conception of marriage. Arnolphe represents man's sense of property in woman. The play represents the most complete indictment of sex jealousy and it won for Molière the greatest success of his career. *La Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes* is an attempt on the part of the author to justify his own method and intentions as a comic writer. His primary business is the difficult task of making honest persons laugh. It is Molière's *Art poetique*, a wise and playful study in criticism. It is a comedy of manners as well as a literary criticism.

Le Tartuffe with the first version in three acts was represented before the court in 1664. It raised a veritable storm of protest in the clerical world and its public representation was forbidden as dangerous for religion in spite of the king's support. It put Molière under cloud for some time. The clerical party incensed by its exposure of religious hypocrisy stood in the way of its public representation till 1669 when a fuller and altered version of the play in five acts was first represented before the general public. The plot of this play centres round the story of Orgon, who has been taken in by the religious pretensions of the impostor to such an extent that his own mother, brother-in-law and wife have not been able to undeceive

him. Orgon insists that he will break the engagement of his daughter to Valere, whom she loves, in order to marry her to the hypocrite Tartuffe. He even turns out his son and deeds his property to the villain. Orgon's wife undertakes a denouement. Conceding her unbelieving husband beneath the table, she permits him to witness Tartuff's unmistakable amorous advances to her, his renunciation of religious sincerity and his boast that he can lead Orgon by the nose. He argues that sin lies in being found out. Orgon's recovery of his sanity, though tardy, is complete but with unmasked selfishness. Tartuffe claims legal title to the property but through the intervention of the king he is finally exposed as a felon in disguise and the property is recovered and the family returns to normal life. The first version is a diverting comedy, the final version is a serious morality. In the first version the emphasis is more on Orgon's credulity than Tartuffe's hypocrisy. The distinction between true and false devotion is repeatedly stressed in the revised version. This conversion of comedy into morality was forced on Molière by the controversy started by the first version and the bitter opposition of the clerks. Thus the comic character of Tartuffe in the first version was converted into a terrifying monster of iniquity in the revised version. Still the play is a masterpiece. Tartuffe is a religious humbug for all countries and all times, neither a Jansenist nor a Jesuit as mistaken by some of Molière's contemporaries. It is one of Molière's great comedies of character.

Le Misanthrope (1666) is his masterpiece. Moliére declared "I have never done anything better." Boileau also considered this play as Molière's masterpiece. Rousseau's attack on *Le Misanthrope* in his *Lettre sur les Spectacles* is of more importance as a revelation of his own character than as a criticism of Molière's play. Alcaste is a man of honour who is also a man of folly. The play expresses a sane philosophy by the sensitive use of irony of situation and character. It is almost devoid of plot. Alcaste makes a fool of himself through his quixotic egoism masquerading as a desire for truth and honesty. Misanthropy is the most ridiculous and illogical of all social vices. Alcaste being prig has no sense of humour. His first words "I will be angry, and I won't listen to a word you have to say" raise a smile and show to the spectator that Le is an egocentric man with a bee in his bonnet. But some of his observations are pregnant. "One can be an honest man and compose bad verses." His fire and fury in small causes are ludicrous. One may

quote his famous observations on the blindness of love which true as they are in themselves at the same time throw a flood light upon his fault-finding temperament. "Lovers always extol their choice. Their passion never sees anything to blame, for in the beloved all things seem adorable. They think their fault perfections, and invent endearing terms by which to call them. The pale one vies with the jessmine in fairness, another dark enough to frighten people, becomes a charming brunette, the lean one is shapely and is gifted with ease of movement, the stout one has a partly and majestic bearing; the slattern, who possesses few charms, is called a careless beauty; the giantess seems a very goddess in their eyes; the dwarf is an epitome of all the wonders of Heaven; the lengthy one has a soul worthy of a coronet; the artful has wit; the stupid one is good nature itself; the chatterbox is cheerful; the silent one preserves a modest and decent mien. Thus a passionate lover cherishes even the faults of her whom he loves." Alcaste with all his virtues is, from start to finish, ludicrous being a comic figure with an egocentricity profoundly unsocial. The opening scene of this play is a fine exposition of the play; in its simplicity and fidelity to nature it rivals the famous opening scene of *Le Tartuffe*. The scenes of the play are linked together by a sufficiently simple theme—the devotion of Alcaste with his impassioned love of sincerity and his hatred of social conventions to a satirical and insincere coquette to whom society is the very breadth of life. The attraction of the opposite temperament of which Molière was a victim in his love for Armand is portrayed here characteristically, not tragically but comically. But Alcaste is not a portrait of Molière himself, the former has no sense of humour or proportion or common-sense—defects which were not Molière's faults. Alcaste is a prig and unsocial boor; these are not the faults of Molière. It is possible that Molière sought to lessen his own domestic distress by laughing at it in the presentation of the attraction of the incompatible temperaments. It is a kind of artistic sublimation.

Le Mèdecin malgeé lui (Physician in spite of himself: 1666) is a play employing the old *fablieux* situation for the purpose of a farce. In this play Molière returns to the old farce. It is an entertaining three-act farce revolving about the unusual revenge taken on a drunken fagot-cutter by his wife whom he has beaten. She points him out as a doctor to two valets who are looking out for a physician to cure their master's daughter Sucinde who has been suddenly struck

dumb. They are told by the wood-cutter's wife that he is a great doctor but he does not acknowledge his profession until he is beaten into it. The wood-cutter is truly and soundly beaten into acknowledging himself a physician and then he plays the physician in a grand style, making money, beats even Sucinde's father to make him a doctor and finally cures her who had merely feigned dumbness to be able to meet and marry the young man of her choice. The satire appears when the wood-cutter and the lover burlesque the Locus pocus of doctors. When the lovers are united the temporary physician reverts to his position as a wood-cutter led back by his wife.

L' Avare (The Miser : 1668) is a comedy of character imitated from Plantus's *A u laire* and Larivey's *Espril.* Harpagon, a miser and usurer, desires to marry a second time a young lady Mariane with money and wants his daughter Elise to marry an old man without dowery. His son Eleante is in love with Mariane ; Valere, who loves Elise enters Harpagon's service as a steward in order to be near her. La Fleshe, Eleante's valet, steals the money casket of Harpagon to teach him a lesson and it is returned to him when he consents to give up Mariane. Ansteme, the old man selected by Harpagon for his daughter, turns out to be the long lost father of Valere and Mariane and the play ends with the marriage of Mariane and Cleante, Elise and Valere, Ansteme consenting to stand the wedding expenses including a new suit for Harpagon. While *Tartuffe* is gloomy *L' Avare* is brilliantly comic ; Harpagon steals oats from his own horse. The miser in his worst moments rather amuses than disgusts the readers. Some of his sayings have come proverbial : "*Les beaux yeux de ma cassette*" (The beautiful eyes of my casket). La Fleche gives us a sketch of Harpagon's character : "Seigneur Harpagon is of all mortals the least human, of all mortals the hardest and the most nigardly. Not any service can be done him that will rouse his gratitude to the extent of putting his hand into his pockets. Of praise, esteem, kind words and friendship you can have as much as you please ; but of money, nothing. Not anything exists drier and more arid than his good graces and his caresses ; he has so much aversion to the word to *give* that he never says *I give you*, but "*I lend you, good morning.*" There are several excellent scenes in this play ; in no play has Molière given us a better idea of his comic genius than in this play. The scene in which Harpagon gives instructions to his servants and daughter about the dinner he intends to give

to Mariane and her mother as well as the scene in the last act between Valere and Harpagon based upon mutual misunderstanding when both of them are at cross purposes, Valere is confessing that he is engaged to his daughter and Harpagon imagines that he is referring to his lost money casket—these scenes are most comic and effective on the stage. We may quote Harpagon's comic outburst on discovering that his buried casket is stolen at the same time like Shylock's; Oh my ducats and my daughter speak.

"Thieves: thieves: murder: murder: Justice, great Heavens: I am lost, I am killed, they have cut my throat, they have robbed me of my money. Who can it be? What has become of him? Where is he? Where is he hiding? What shall I do to find him? Where shall I run? Where shall I not run? Is he not there? Is he not here? Where is he? Stop. Give me back my money, you scoundrel.... (He seizes hold of his own arm). Ah: it is I: My mind is upset, I do not know where I am, who I am, what I do. Alas! my poor money, my poor money, my dear friend: they have deprived me of you; and, now that you are taken away from me, I have lost my support, my consolation, my joy; and is finished, I have no longer any concern with the world: without you, it is impossible for me to live. All is over, I cannot do anything more, I am dying, I am dead, I am buried. Is there no one who will bring me back to life by giving me back my dear money, or by telling me who has taken it? Eh? What did you say? It was no one. Whoever has done this deed has carefully watched for his opportunity, he has chosen just the time when I was speaking to my wretch of a son. I must go out. I will send for the police and have all the house put to the torture, servants, lackeys, son, daughter and myself also. What a crowd there is: I cannot look on any one whom I do not suspect, they all look as though they had robbed me. Ah: what are they talking about there? Of him who has robbed me? What is that noise up there? Is the thief there? For pity's sake, if you know anything of the robber, I beseech you to tell me. Is he not hidden among you? They all look at me and begin to laugh. You will see that they have shared in the plunder, no doubt, come quickly, magistrates, detectives, sergeants, judges, racks, gallows and hangmen. I will hang the whole world: and if I do not find my money, I will there hang myself."

This soliloquy is a perfectly comic exhibition of the misers' mind. The miser is a man who is obsessed by a single passion, the passion

for money; it is his fixed idea which disturbs his relations with his children, servants and acquaintances.

Le Bourgeois gentliehomme (The Citizen turned nobleman : 1670) is a comedy of manners which is a blend of farce, interlude and comic characterisation, its ballet is pure sheer extravaganza. In M. Jurdain we have the most delightful Dickensian comic character, the permanent representative of the new rich, the social climber, a delightful snob who is nerve, a gull, a mint to all sorts of parasites. He is surprised to learn that all his life he has been talking prose without knowing it, who is told that which is not prose is verse, and that which is not verse is prose, who is ever ready to learn dancing, fencing, phonetics and a host of social graces, who is duned by his tailor, music teacher, fencing master, who is duned by a marquis with the promise of getting into the charmed circle of nobility and who is solemnly initiated into the Turkish nobility by the bestowel of the title of Mamamouchie. His childish delight in his new clothes and his new lackeys in gorgeous levery, his parade of his new clothes and new learning before his wife and maid servant are all deliciously comic. The ridiculous portrait of a genuine and simple parvenu, the shop keeper prenil his simple complacency and yet honest humbleness and readiness to learn and improve himself have made him one of the most popular creations of Molière. He is not too old to learn. He is absurd but not pitiful. His passion for self-improvement, his innocent delight in the acquisition of knowledge and his respect for accomplishments are not ridiculous in themselves but are only ridiculous in their excesses. He is the most delightful of dupes. This Pickwick of Molière has like that famous character of Dickens a naive faith in the goodness of his fellow creatures, and if his foible stands in relief with that of Molière's misanthrope who has excessive distrust of his fellow creatures while this bourgeois puts excess of trust in them; the one doubts everything and everybody, the other accepts everything and everybody. The two poles of follies are thus comically presented by Molière in two plays.

Les Temmes savantes (The Learned Ladies : 1672) is a comedy of manners in which Molière while discussing a contemporary affectation seriously raised a social problem of permanent interest. The heroine of this play raises an important issue. What is the true wisdom of women? Is it of the hearth or the forum? Molière is too sane to deny to women the right of knowledge but he wants them to wear it gracefully. Pedantry is anti-social virtue and a woman

pedant is worse than her male counterpart. Amusing scenes of the follies of learned ladies and their admirers are given in this play. We have in this play a wife who dismisses a good cook for using bad grammar. Mind or matter, spirit or flesh? Such is the fundamental issue of this play and the answers are as various as the characters presented. According to Foguet it is a thesis play against the higher education of women; really it is only a satire on foolish women who neglect their domestic duties and nothing more.

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EDUCATING THE PEOPLE

B. D. Roy, M.A., B.T., F.R.G.S.

II

Adult Education—The College of Adult Education

The Act of 1944 requires the Local Authorities to provide education for the adults. For the prospectus of the college for adult education (Urchfont Manor-Wiltshire) it is said, "It is opened us a a college for residential adult education—to provide a period of study, reading and discussion for men and women who would like to take such opportunity. Many people after some years of adult life perhaps at 20 or at 40 begin to wish for a chance to sit down and think out properly some of the problems or things which crowded in upon them in the course of every day life and this happens to people who had little education at school and also to those who had much. Others for whom it has no real meaning until they have experience in life facing a job, a war, a marriage or some responsibility. Again many people do not develop their interest in life until long after school days. To-day, there are not only the eternal personal problems, there is the pressing difficulty of finding a philosophy of life in a society and world which seem to be in a state of chaos. Sheer love of knowledge is another reason which makes people wish for a time for reflection, for discussion and for getting some essential knowledge.

Discussion is important—it gives a chance to test ideas of other people and to get new ideas from them. The Urchfont Adult College provides their chance of continuous study.

The *Emeritus* lecturers from the University are available to give a course of lectures on a certain subject.

The Village Colleges in Cambridgeshire

The Village Colleges in Cambridgeshire are now known all over the world. There is the County Education Committee; guidance or financial assistance is sometimes given, but they are self-governing and self-supporting. The following quotation from the News Letter

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of Impington Village College will give us a idea of the history, growth and working system of such centres :—

" Seven years ago, the village college came into being as a community centre to provide social, cultural, educational and recreational facilities and amenities to serve a rural area. At that time the venture was declared to be a ' bold and daring experiment.' By the joint efforts through the Students' Council, the Board of Governors and the staff, the college has progressed from the experimental stage and become a pronounced success. Many prominent people in the world of Art and Education have written of on activities, with the result that we have achieved renown, not only nationally, but also internationally. Council has been told that no finer example of rural community life exists, and the college is a living proof of the value of community centres in rural areas.

Much of the sucess that has been achieved is due to the very keen interest shown by the Students' Council in the management and organisation of college activities—even to the extent of providing funds for the improvement of facilities when it has not been possible for the authorities to sanction the expenditure involved. The Council watches the interests with vigilance and exerts its full power to raise the standard of the services available.

What is the Students' Council ?

1. Each Class, Society, Association or Group, functioning in the college, appoints one of its members to represent them on the Students' Council. Each village in the college area also has the right to elect a representative to the Council.

2. The Officers of the Students' Council are appointed by the Council at their first meeting in each College year.

Criticism and constructive ideas from all interested in the furtherance of the college activities are welcomed by the Council.

The Council's Committees

1. Canteen—is responsible for the administration of the College evening canteen, purchases and sales.

2. News-Letter—responsible for college publications and Magazine.

3. Social—provides first class Social events for students.

4. Youth—Co-ordinates into a whole the service of youth at the college and co-operates with other youth clubs, giving special attention to youth Festivals, Socials and keeping young people in touch with County and National affairs.

Classes

Agricultural Mechanics, Art (including drawing, painting, modelling, carving, and making lino-cuts) choral.

Combined Courses

Wood-work and Metal-work; Business Training (Shorthand, Book-keeping and English); Cookery; Country Dancing; Drama; Dress-making; Handicrafts.

Household Needlework (Tuesday and Friday afternoons): Model Engineering; Music and the ordinary Listener; Physical Training for Boys; Physical Training for Girls. Rugmaking; Make-Do-and-Mend.

Societies, Associations and Groups

Agricultural Society—Takes part in discussions and film shows in conjunction with Young Farmers' Club and Government Advisory Service.

Allotments and Gardening Associations—Monthly talks cover a wide range of subjects such as—Early Market Garden crops and salads, Raising of seeds and plants, Pests and diseases and shows are arranged.

Craftsmen's Guild—Every Wednesday evening. Interests are very varied and projects range from marquetry to ornamental turning, from cabinet making to boat building, and from model engineering to plastics. Many are the topics of interesting discusion, and many are the valuable hints and tips on various crafts handed over and all help each other in providing information and materials.

Besides lectures, visits to places of interest are arranged and annual exhibition is held.

Discussion Group—Folk Dancing and Song Society.

Dramatic Society—develops a keen taste for good drama by promoting the study of the dramatic art and by cultivating public appreciation of the living drama. It co-operates with the County Drama Adviser and helps in the County Drama Festival.

Men's Club—Billiards, Table Tennis, Darts, etc. are played.

Parents and Children—

Mothers have an excellent opportunity of having expert advice on the problems that frequently arise in every home and of the most interesting and helpful discussion following the talks.

Religious Discussion Group. Junior Red Cross. Worker's Education Association.

Have a class on literature—study the modern poets and their work, hold a short course on World Affairs and consider the coal and cotton industries and the position of agriculture and its future prospects in England and other countries.

Young Farmers' Club—

Apart from discussion of subjects of various interests, they have Agricultural Quiz and film shows on such topics as " Milk production ' ' cultivation and harvesting of Sugar Bat, ' etc. and take part in the County Show.

The University Settlement in Bristol

A few years back, the University of Bristol started a ' Settlement ' in the slum areas of Bristol. It was to infuse ideas of a better living among the people. The way educated people have tried and results achieved are amazing. A lady is in charge of the whole thing. Her colleagues are in charge of different activities. They are also highly educated. Fortunately I was able to attend their annual function. Reports of the Committees and societies were read and adopted. The Chairman was an elderly man—an inhabitant and has a shoe-mending business. The settlement has changed the atmosphere so much that he has succeeded through his honest labour and patience to be the Chairman of the Education Committee, Bristol City. The representatives of the slum areas in the city, all gave very encouraging reports. Some of them were out in very nice dress, but the way they conducted the business was really amazing.

The University raises funds and the members also subscribe, so there is no want of money. The hostel is maintained for University students to gather practical experience in social service They spend a few months—and in the areas assigned, they come into direct contact with homes, study the problems and in various ways help the people who are in distress. One of the students said that she met a young married woman with a young baby. She was deserted by her husband, through the help of the police the young man was found out. She has been the means of reconciliation. Where financial help was needed, it was given. Every body had his or her tale to tell. Every body seemed to enjoy the work and it does give an insight into the social conditions of the people. When various problems are brought to them they seek guidance, but they try to find out solutions in their own way.

A young lady was in charge of the young men and women. Their activities are more or less like those of the youth clubs.

Community Centres

They are new even in England. Few places have been able to start them, although there seems to be a great demand for them. The one that I visited has been started very recently. The Warden is in charge of the whole thing. The building was built by the council authorities. Young men and women and old folk are entitled to become members on a payment of some fees. In the evening all assemble and enjoy the different games, handicraft, dance, whist drive, educational talks, discussions and can read from the library. The Mayoress of the town was among the folk who were very busy in making various handicrafts such as sleeping shoes, etc. There is a nice stage, and very often enthusiasts are found to stage a drama. At least six people should come forward to introduce any new thing such as old dance etc. Drinking is prohibited. There are discussions on various topics. Political talks are permitted, but if a Conservative is allowed, the Labour or the Liberal is also given a chance. One Sunday in a month, the ministers of all denominational churches are given the opportunity of talking to the people. Thus it is not only a centre for social and cultural gathering, but religious discussions are also held.

It serves as a very useful means of getting to know one another and to help others. A young woman had difficulty in getting to a 'dig,' she was readily helped. The centre had hot bath—people who could not have it elsewhere, can have it, and a woman found it convenient to wash her clothes and dry them in the centre. It has therefore a great possibility in future, and under an able warden, it can be of great blessing to the young and old folk of a certain area.

Women's Institute

There is a country-wide organisation for women, especially living in the villages. The usual hours for their meeting are in the afternoon. Besides their own speakers they have a panel of itenerant speakers—they are usually women of advanced ideas or have special training or qualifications. I met a lady, recently married to a major who was in the Indian army. She has special training in the Red Cross. She was invited to speak to the meetings of her county. Only her travelling was paid. Much of practical work, helpful to wives is done. A very important feature is that the members are taught how to bottle fruits and it is very keenly contested. Representatives are sent to the annual meeting of the county gathering—and there

is also an annual national gathering where many important discussions are held concerning their own work and plans. The Institutes are said to have done many good things in the past under the leadership of women only. There is nothing political or religious in these institutes.

Church Organisations

The youth organisation in England would be incomplete without a reference to the church. Girls of the two world wars can be seen working through out Britain and one cannot but be impressed with the different and mighty ways the church leaders have been fighting them.

"This is the day of youth. In a large part of the earth they are taking a strain, meeting hardship, carrying responsibilities greater perhaps than young people have ever been called to face before. It is their privilege and opportunity. They have shown that their countries can depend on them. They grapple triumphantly with new tasks. They face danger with superb courage..... Nothing will do now but the utmost for the highest. Half-heartedness, complacency, inefficiency must be banished; youth in our churches must play its full part, not in separation, but in the wider fellowship. It must train for the leadership of young life to-day and of the people of Christ in days to come. The training must be serious, resolute and thorough.

"The purpose of the Young People's Society, by whatever name it calls itself, cannot be merely recreation. Our aim must be service, more service and yet more service, whatever the toil and the cost may be. The motive of it must be nothing less than the example and spirit of the Master.

"A Christian fellowship should meet and act for a definite purpose and a purpose worthy of declaration. We gather not to discuss things in general, or to be led by local fashion and occasional mood. Our range of interests may be wide but there is a centre and control.

"Our Declaration is addressed directly to the practical problems and opportunities of youth to-day, and embodies the general objectives of the Fellowship. It can, however, achieve its highest purpose only as individual members personally accept it." Periodically, it should be recited by the local Fellowship. This act of recollection and commitment would have great spiritual value and power."

A part of the Declaration is quoted :—

"To study the problems of our time, and to endeavour to under-

stand the people of other nations with a view to the removal of all social, economic and political injustices that make for such evils as poverty and war.

To seek daily the guidance of God's spirit, and strive in all things to do His will."

Great emphasis is laid on the act of worship so as to lead the young people to commune with God and surrender their lives to Him. The radio and grammophone are made a great aid to worship. "Silence as well as speech can be used and sometimes a deep impression can be made by leading our young people to quiet contemplation on a great theme.

"The Young People's Department gives help and direction to the general youth work of our churches; includes in its wide range of international service, pen friendships, exchange of programmes, circulating libraries, correspondence courses on World Citizenship, Fellowship Tours and World Congresses."

"Tremendous forces are bidding for youth to-day."

The appeal of the world of "things" is insistent and strong. A programme for living, in desire is "King," and the spirit of "push" and "Gnome" the ruling passion, makes its bid for youth. Many find it attractive. And there are vested interests that want to cash in on the softness and selfishness of human nature. They get behind this programme. They present it attractively for their own ends.

There are other ideas that appeal to youth. Some are prepared to give everything for that faith that "one race shall rule": some for its counter part that "one race shall rule." Some are captured by the creed that "money shall rule." Such ideas claim the loyalty of youth. They shape their living. They make history. They set armies marching "Japan," says one man, "fired people with an idea before she fired a shot."

Our world is in the melting pot. Which way will youth turn? Where will its energy, its capacity for heroism and sacrifice, which war has revealed, be directed in post-war years? What idea will capture it? There cannot be a vacuum. It was the empty heart of German youth that Hitler found a lodgment for his lid idea.

We are fighting to capture and train the youth of this generation for Christ. We want His idea to rule. We believe it is the idea for life. It outmatches all others. It is the answer to the disruptive and destructive ideas that have led youth astray and threatened to wreck their world.

We are battling to hand on the Christian heritage of our Church and nation. We are out to give to youth to-day the faith that has given our nation all the best things in its life, the faith that alone guarantees the future of our world. It is the faith for which our fathers fought and suffered to hand on to us. It is the only sure support of moral principles, the bulwark of sound home life, business integrity, personal character, and those great spiritual truths by which men and nations live.

It is a tremendous privilege to be invited to share in this work. It is an investment in the future, an investment that pays golden dividens in the character of the nation."

The Young Fellowship Meeting

Service for the young people.

To bring young people contact clubs have been formed. Concert games and other recreations are arranged. When the young people are won, they are invited to join the fellowship. An evening is usually set apart when the Young Fellowship group to meet. Their aims and objects have already been described.

In some churches, separate services are held to suit the young people only.

All these show how the church in England has become conscious of the spiritual needs of the young people. Special liter ature is now available.

Easter and Summer Schools

Stonar Easter School

In a lovely spot in the country side of Wiltshire there is a Girls' School. Away from the noise of the busy town the building with its expansive playgrounds is very attractive. All seats were booked. The officers came an hour earlier to welcome the radiant young people between the ages of 12 and 21. As the pupils are away during Easter, all the rooms including the library could be used.

After breakfast, there was a devotional period followed by a talk and discussion. Both boys and girls took a good deal of interest. In the evening the speaker who was specially appointed to work among the people in the factories, gave a series of talks on the youth and the problems of the day. Statistics and facts were placed before them. There was some time after each talk to ask questions. Every bit of time was utilised. There was plenty of time for play, mirth

and fun. Opportunities were offered to the young people to get to know one another, especially on the dining tables and in games. Every one, including his staff was to change his place. On the last day, the evening social gave an opportunity to the local groups to give something which they liked.

Some of them came from schools, some from factories, some from farms, some from the army, some from state service. Difficulties and problems were discussed and suggestions made from everybody's point of view. It is not that everything was ideal or perfect but there was that provision to unite youths of different parts of the county and to acquaint them with problems of life which they will face later on. Useful guidance is given by the leaders. Music and singing and smiling faces were other special features of the gathering.

Malvern Summer School

All Schools and Universities remain closed in August. It is also the time when many people go for their holidays. Various conferences are held and Great Britain seems to be in a holiday mood. In the midst of their fun and merrymaking, they make the best of their time. Holiday camps are arranged for school children in some healthy resorts, continent is visited and Summer Schools are held under the auspices of Missionary Societies and Churches. Malvern Summer School had a course for young people and adults for a fortnight, the next batch came immediately after the first left. The school which was closed provided the necessary accommodation. The course included serious topics. Though short it tried to emphasise on the character side. As usual, fellowship is enjoyed and friends made between people of different parts of the country. It is needless to say that is one of the ways how people of the country are united in common faith and ideals.

Malvern is a lovely spot—has lovely surroundings too. It is said that Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote some of his books, while staying there. These new-comers join the local activities and the local papers report on the discussions and decisions of the school. This annual affair brings freshness in the life of the locality. International discussion is a special feature and the world is thus made the subject of study.

Holiday Camps or Homes

Religious and private bodies arrange for holiday camps on sea-shore or health-resorts. Private bodies make some profit—but it

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is very little, but it is very much less expensive than what it would be if he or she had been with the parents or other people. Some tents are fixed up or there may be buildings rented—usually near a place where they can play games. Families sometimes go in groups. They are also less expensive.

Meals are communal, so they are less expensive and save a good deal of trouble for the women. There are more opportunities for games, funs, etc. When it is under the supervision of religious bodies—there is definite provision for Bible-reading, service and meditation. Sometimes these groups go out for an excursion to a neighbouring place of interest.

Visits, Organised and Fellowship Tours, Travels, etc.

Long ago, the benefit of tours and travels was recognised. Even children look forward to holiday visits. Every opportunity is taken to visit sea-side or other interesting places. While people of Scotland would like to come to the warmer south, the people in South England would like to visit "bonnie Scotland." Welsh mountains are also very attractive. Visits are so arranged that an average boy or girl can see a number of interesting places in Britain before they are grown up. From the health point of view, it is said, it is valuable.

Visits are now exchanged between different countries. Denmark, France and Switzerland are preferred to other countries. One is only to pay for the travelling, while food and accommodation are provided. I went to Cambridge to take the evening service at St. Andrew's Church. In the course of conversation, the friends with whom I was staying told me that they were expecting a French girl to visit them soon. Their daughter had spent a few days with her home in France—it was all free. She had the opportunity to speak in French and to see the life there. She also visited the places of interest. In return they hope to give the French girl all such opportunities. She would learn English.

There are now organisations, international clubs, etc. who arrange such visits. Sometimes they are arranged by pen-friends. Sometimes organised tours are conducted. What formerly was the privilege of the wealthy is now open to all.

It is needless to comment on the benefits that are derived. They broaden the ideas, you can have first-hand knowledge of the language and the life of the people. Our curiosity for sight-seeing is satisfied. They are good for our health. But the greatest blessing

is the international understanding that we can develop through the friendship between the young people of different countries. We also increase our stock of knowledge.

The Problem

England is a small country, while India (including Pakistan) is a sub-continent. The population is over four hundred millions. They have not had the benefit of a compulsory elementary education nor of a liberal education for long. Democracy and unity for such a large area were not very much known or practised. England has had the background of Christian teaching which ultimately aims at the ideal of a community life for so many centuries. She believes, after all in one religion—that of Jesus. In the case of India, there are not only so many religions, but the castes and sub-castes of the Hindus, the sects of the Moslems and the denominational differences of the Indian Christians—sometimes put up a great barrier against the unity of the people.

The recent communal differences and disturbances go to prove that as a nation we have not yet learnt to love our neighbours. Differences become wider and stronger as we grow old. Well, we must have our convictions and there may not be any compromise, but as human beings we do have many things on which we can meet and work together peacefully for the state as well as for the world. Youth is the most suitable period—When we are neither the victims of the likes and dislikes of our parents nor do we get hard-hearted confirmed believes in certain ideas and ideals—unwilling to accept new things. Untouchability is a great curse not only in South India, but it is so in certain degree all over India. We clothe our sweepers in a way, the bearers in another and so on. Water or food touched becomes unfit to drink or eat. Heaps of dust and filth block the common roads and pathways. Our wealthy do not share their riches. Some have enough even to squander while millions starve.

Malaria, cholera, small-pox and other epidemics carry away thousands every year. Tuberculosis and other diseases are now common in our homes. We do not know how to prevent them. Inside our homes, we try to be so clean, but we are least concerned about public health. Many things which we can and ought to prevent, we simply let them off in the name of fate.

Millions of young men and women waste their time—not knowing how to spend it. Old old ideas about cultivation, gardening and

village industries have still been adhered to. The experiments being made at Wardha for village uplift or advanced ideas from the west are unknown.

A distinguished British visitor to India in very recent times—and a friend to India too observed that they found no smiles on the faces of Indians while he was in India. We know how true it is. While it was awfully snowing and the fuel ran short—Mr. Atlee declined with thanks the American offer of coal by Mr. Truman. But still, the British people, even their children kept on smiling. All over Britain there is singing and music. It is not meant for a few experts, but for all—for the community. Much of the bitterness that exists between one caste and another—between a religious community and another, etc., will go away if India learns to sing. We have been too philosophical and serious and do not allow our young girls and boys even to laugh and smile and express their youthful joy and delight—so natural in this part of time.

We can be proud of the Indian conception of marriage. But what an appalling wastage of human life there is in the deaths of infants and their mothers! Girls and boys become parents at a very early age, without scarcely knowing their responsibilities. In comparison with the mothers in England now, the Indian mothers on the whole are very much ignorant and know very little of child-bringing.

People in other parts cannot understand why we fight for our religion. We know religion is our most precious treasure. If people in other countries can live peacefully inspite of their religious differences what earthly reasons can there be in India to quarrel over them and kill one another? If older people cannot find out the way, the younger people can and will discover the ways.

And to the rest of the world: The young life in India cannot be shut out from that of other countries. It is to be reciprocal.

The Plan

Definition of :—

(1) Young people—Boys and girls between the ages 13 and 16.

(2) Adults—Man and woman from ages 25 and upwards.

Youth Organisation

They should be divided into :—

(*a*) Those for young people who live in town or places with town conditions.

(*b*) Those for young people who live in the villages.

Note 1. It is desirable for the young people to join the clubs according to their residence rather than schools or colleges.

2. It should be entirely non-political and non-religious.

3. There shall be separate clubs for boys and girls, but there may be joint gatherings on suitable occasions.

4. Vigilant watch should be kept on the moral and spiritual life of the young people and co-operation with the parents and the religious body to which he or she belongs may be sought.

5. Every effort should be made to make these clubs voluntary and self-supporting. As far as possible communal representation should be avoided.

A town can be divided into localities; whereas the villages of a district can be under political groupings such as the sub-divisions, unions and then village units. Where convenient neighbouring villages can be united. Village Committees with their own elected office-bearers will be responsible for their activities. Union, District, Divisional and then the National Provincial Councils will be constituted by the elected representatives. The All-India National Council will consist of representatives from the different provinces and states. It is to be hoped that the youth organisation of Pakistan will also join.

Initiative

The initiative should come from the state. While the clubs are supposed to be self-supporting, a small grant may be necessary at the initial stage. Funds would be necessary to provide *emeritus* lecturers from the University or for District or National organisation, Music teachers and physical instructors may have to be appointed for the districts. National movements on the lines of the Scouts, Guides, etc. may be started. Special teachers for sewing, cookery, etc. shall have to be appointed. Part-time services of doctors and nurses may be necessary. Suitable books for the library or some games apparatus may have to be brought at the beginning. And above all, the young and the adults should be kept informed, the march of progress and the world affairs—so the wireless has become a daily necessity. Every village should have a set, and if the people cannot buy it—it is the duty of the state to see that they have one.

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The Curriculum

Guidance may be had from the English Curriculum, and specially from that of the Cambridgeshire Village colleges. The English system of organisation is worth following. But we shall have to adopt those to suit Indian conditions and mind. It is to be hoped that the Wardha scheme, sponsored by Mr. Gandhi, will now receive greater attention—facilities be offered to put them into practice. Spinning and weaving, gardening, dairy and village sanitation together with industries likely to uplift hundreds of villages cannot but find an important place in the education of our young and adults. Itenerant teachers will visit their organisations, and where possible people from the locality can be trained for the purpose. So it will not be a very expensive affair, after all. For girls, marriage guidance, child nursing and domestic hygiene as well as physical exercise should be the basis of the theoretical aspect of their discussions and lectures. Looms, gardening plots, a theatrical hall, etc., would be necessary for practical demonstration. Seventy five per cent. of the population are still illiterate, so the three RS may be taught with some advantage.

India is an agricultural country, so agriculture should be the central subject around which the other subjects should be developed. As we shall have to compete with the industries of other countries—all towns and industrial areas should emphasise on industries with special reference to the particular ones of the locality. Village industries of all kinds should be stressed on the same way.

There may be clash of ideals. Indian mentality will support Mr. Gandhi's 'Go back to Village,' policy. There has lately been a growing feeling against machinery in England even and they complain so much of the dullness of machines. Still, we cannot go back to the primitive days. The machine has its own contribution—it adds power and the human part becomes easier. Probably a via media course would be the best to follow.

We must return to music and singing. Lately in Bengal a good deal of her music, singing and poetry had a pathetic and sad note. We would better follow the English way of 'fun and humour.' Life is not all seriousness, and we soon grow old, because our young people and adults do not laugh. We will not need to import them from abroad, we have them in our villages. We may add if we want, but we shall need to revive them. Folk dances may be introduced.

Physical activities both for boys and girls, men and women must

be well provided. There should also be provision for recreation and hobbies in leisure time.

Hours for Youth Clubs and Evening Classes

In India, especially in Bengal we work the pupils too much. Saturday in England is a full holiday; with us it is only a half-holiday. One would therefore propose that Wednesday should also be half-working day. It will not only relieve boys and girls to join the club activities, but some teachers may be available for employment at the clubs or for evening classes. It is not easy to meet after dusk in India, so an afternoon would fit in very well.

Holiday Camps, Visits, Tours and Travels

Time has come when we shall have to break away with isolation, so characteristic of Indian life. Boys can travel to other villages in the same union—then in the sub-division—to districts, and provinces. The visits are to be exchanged. So it will solve all difficulties, excepting that of travelling expenses. As far as girls are concerned, the parents can arrange them after one consideration.

Visits to other countries should be arranged—so that our young people and adults can have an wider outlook and view of life. We can take up the idea of exchange of visits between different countries.

Universities and Business and Commercial Firms

India is many years behind in many respects. It is not within her present means to provide for District colleges on models of English country colleges. The time has not probably come yet. The Indian Universities can, however, take up the scheme of settlements in the more important towns in slum areas. So far as the funds are concerned, they will be forth coming. It depends upon the executive body of the University and a willing band of workers.

Some private bodies started schools of special type to train people for the business and commerce. They deserve recognition. It is, however, to be regretted that few business firms or commercial bodies helped to the growth and maintenance of these schools. There was also very little support from the Government like England. The state may aid the existing schools, but should take the opportunity of suggesting improvements to meet the growing requirements of the generation.

There is, indeed, a grand opportunity for the big commercial and business concerns in India (both native and foreign) to unite and provide necessary funds for starting work schools (as planned for England). It will not only supply them with better type of workers, but will improve the business and commerce of the country.

The Future

It would be serving a great need if an advisory body is set up at the centre to co-ordinate the activities and programme of the provinces. A young people's department to Education is very much needed.

While local authorities should be encouraged to do what they can for their young people and the adults, a commission may be appointed to go thoroughly into the question and suggest a definite plan. As Indian youth will change repaidly, such a commission will need to be appointed at an interval of every five years.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN MUTINEERS

A Study in the History of Political Institutions

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The Indian Mutiny[1] has been a popular subject with the historian, British and Indian. But so far he has essentially confined himself to the analysis of the causes or to the narration of the events of this "war of barbarism against barbarism."[2] If a Kaye or a Malleson portrayed the atrocities of the Mutineers, and Edward Thompson or a Sevarkar emphasised the "Other side of the Medal," one aspect of the subject has, however, been completely ignored. Not a word has been said about the Political Organisation of the Mutineers. The subject is important and deserves serious consideration. For, though the Mutineers failed to capture state-power, their scheme, crude and sketchy as it was, still remains the first plan for the political reconstruction of modern India.

We know very little about the Organisation of the Mutineers, specially in the early period when the plans were being hatched. The season for this "unknowableness" is quite obvious. The Mutineers, at first, worked under illegal conditions and therefore kept no records about the nature, function and the structure of their secret organisation. History abounds with accounts of itinerant *Moulvies* and *Fakirs*, *Pandits* and *Sanyasis*, the volunteer begging parties and the *Madaries*; and of the red lotuses and *Chapatees* passed from village to village. Such accounts are often conjunctural, seldom based on facts, and in no case do they present an adequate picture of the organisation. But there is no doubt that there existed such an organisation.[3]

[1] I use the word "Mutiny" because of the currency it has gained. I do not characterise this event as Mutiny. It was, in fact, a Peasant War both against indigenous landlordism and foreign capitalism. See my articles: "Sociological Interpretation of Indian Mutiny" in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1946.

[2] Frank Bright: History of England, Period IV, p. 328; quoted by R. C. Dutt: India in the Victorian Age: P. 224.

[3] V. D. Savarkar in his "Indian War of Independence 1857 describes: "The Sepoys used to call together meetings secretly at night. All resolutions were passed in the general meetings, and all decisions passed in the inner circles were obeyed strictly and by all. When they used to come to the secret societies, they used to conceal their

The Mutineers' Organisation was, in fact, a new growth, almost spontaneous. At any rate, it came into being through the efforts of the leaders of the struggle, most of whom came from the lower strata of life. The princes and the landlords who associated with the Mutineers, actively or passively in the beginning and betrayed the struggle in the middle, hardly constituted a factor in the making of this organisation.[1]

After the capture of Delhi the Mutineers issued a *Parwanah*[2] outlining the political structure of the new State. Bahadur Shah was formally proclaimed the Emperor of India. A Court of Administration[3] was to be the chief organ of the State. It was to consist of ten members. Six from the Army and four from the Civilian departments. The representation of the Army was again equally distributed among its three branches—the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. Members were elected by a majority vote from amongst "intelligent, wise, capable, experienced men who had also to their credit a record of past faithful services." The last condition is not wholly intelligible in view of the fact that few of the Mutineers had any past history to lay claims on past services. Perhaps, and one cannot be absolutely certain about this, it was exactly for this reason, that this condition was not made absolute. For it was specifically provided that the condition could be waved in case of really capable and intelligent persons.

identity by covering their faces completely, leaving only their eyes uncovered, and then speak about the thousand and one oppressions committed in the country by the English. If any one of the members was suspected of telling the name of the conspirators to the enemy, he was immediately put to death. In order that common deliberations should take place between the various regiments, it was arranged that on festive occasions one regiment should invite another to a feast and, on this pretext, united gatherings were carried on successfully. Meetings of select Sepoys were held in the houses of the *Subehdars*.....The work of deciding all these things was left to the officers, and every one was made to swear.....that each one would do what the regiment would undertake to do. When one regiment was bound together, the chief committee of that regiment began negotiations with the chief committee of another and they worked together. The mutual oath of the regiments, like the mutual oaths of the Sepoys were determined and decisive. Every regiment was a unit in the higher organisation." (pp. 90-91). Mr. Wilson in his "The Defence of the Lucknow" wrote: "From the available evidence I am quite convinced that.....every regiment had a committee of three; and this committee used to do evrey thing connected with the Mutiny.....The committee had to decide on all important schemes, to do all the correspondence, and several other things.....The mutual agreements between the various regiments simply amounted to do what the other regiment would do." Also see Kaye's History of the Sepoy War in India, Vol. I, p. 365; Narrative of the Indian Mutiny," P. 5.

[1] General Mcleod Innes: Lucknow and Oudh in Mutiny, pp. 42, 291, 293; *Calcutta Review* (1858), p. 64; Holmes: A History of the Indian Mutiny: pp. 143, 458; Gubbins: The Mutinies in Oudh, p. 40; General Orders, Despatches and Correspondence, p. 297; also my article cited above.

[2] Budle No. 57 Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) dated nil. *Vide* Press-list of Mutiny papers published by the Imperial Record Department, Government of India.

[3] Their own words:

Four members from the Civil side were also to be elected in the same manner by their respective (?) departments.[1]

One out of the ten members of the Court was to be elected President[2] (*Sadr-i-Jalsa*) and another as Vice-President[3] (*Naib Sadr-i-Jalsa*) by a majority vote. The President of the Court had two votes. Each of the remaining members was in charge of the department of the State he represented. He was assisted by a Committee of 4, elected in the same manner as the members of the Court. Each Committee had as many secretaries as it required. Proposals passed by a majority vote in a Committee were forwarded to the Court through member-in-charge.[4] No specific mention was made as to the headship of the departments whose representatives on the Court were elected President and Vice-President. Presumably the President and the Vice-President were to be the heads of their departments in addition to their duties.

The King Bahadur Shah had the right to attend the sessions of the Court[5]. But this right was ineffective as he did not attend any such session.[6] No decision of the Court was enforceable in the realm without the signification of the King. A resolution of the Court disapproved by the King had to be reconsidered by the Court.[7] Legally, the final authority rested with the King. In actual practice, however, the Court resolved as they chose[8] and compelled the King to affix his seal thereon. Bahadur Shah admitted in his defence statement[9] : "As regards the orders [under my seal and under my signatures, the facts are that from the day soldiery came and killed the European officers, and made me a prisoner. I remained so thereafter. They caused to be prepared all papers they thought fit, brought them to me and compelled me to affix my seal. Sometimes they brought the rough drafts of orders and had fair copies made by my secretary. While at others, they brought letters in original intended for despatch, and left their copies in my office.

[1] Bundle No. 57 Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu, dated nil. Rule No. 5.
[2] Their own words.
[3] Their own words.
[4] Bundle No. 57 Foll. Nos. 53941 (Urdu), dated nil Rules No. 3 and 11.
[5] Opp. Cited.
[6] Trial of Bahadur Shah, pp. 137-141. In his defence statement submitted to the Military Commission specially set up to try him in 1858, he said "The Mutineers had established a Court in which all matters were dleiberated upon, decisions taken. But I never took any part in their conferences."
[7] Bundle No. 57 Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu), dated nil, Rule No. 7.
[8] Prince Zaheer-Ud-Din *alias* Mirza Moghul wrote to the King that he had a talk with General Bakht Khan and other members of the Court, but they refused to accept His Majesty's proposals. Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 155 (Persian), D/ nil.
[9] *Vide* his defence statement : Trial of Bahadur Shah, pp. 137-140.

Hence several rough drafts in many different hands have been filed in the proceedings. Frequently they had my seal fixed on empty unaddressed envelops. I neither knew the contents of the letters nor as to whom they were being sent.....My life.....being in danger, I could not do anything in the matter.....They accused my servants.....and Queen Zinet Mahall of being in league with the British. They even threatened to kill them and wanted me to hand over the Queen to them as a hostage."

At one occasion the King felt so "wearied and helpless that he resolved to relinquish the title of the Emperor (*Shahhenshah*) fraught with cares and troubles" and "to pass the remaining days in service acceptable to God."[1] Once he even threatened to commit suicide by swallowing a diamond.[2]

Undoubtedly, the Mutineers' concept of the new state was derived from their inspiration of the *Panchayates* of the days gone by. In fact, that was the only political tradition they had inherited. They kept up the facades of the monarchy. But they were not prepared to allow the Emperor to wield any political power. The constitution was, therefore, made broad-based. Not that the masses were associated with political sovereignty, yet, it is evident that the authority was vested in the class—of peasant proprietors—which was becoming politically conscious. It is also true that the village *Panchayet* could not be revived, for, its socio-economic basis had been irreparably shaken. Nor to the revolutionaries was democracy anything more than the destruction of "privilege," and freedom of opportunity for their own class.

The Court held two kinds of sessions.[3] The ordinary sessions were held for five hours each day in the Red Fort. Special sessions were held for the transaction of any urgent business.[4]

The Mutineers must have recognised the necessity of unanimity and expedition; and therefore, they provided the process of guillotine to safeguard against frivolous proposals. Thus an amendment to a proposal could not be moved without being supported by four out of ten members and the Court could always apply the guillotine after three speeches on the plea of urgency. As *Panchayet* spirit

1 *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, Vol. 19 No. 21, dated May 24; 1857; also Trial of Bahadur Shah: pp. 134-35; quoted in full a letter from the King to Mirza Moghul, dated nil.
2 Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 260 (Persian), dated 9th August, 1857.
3 Bundle No. 57 Foll. No. 539-41 Rule No. 3 (Urdu), dated nil.
4 *Op. Cit.* Rule No. 3.

implied joint responsibility, the decisions taken in the absence of a minister were also applicable to his Department.[1]

In all matters majority vote of the Court was absolutely essential.[2]

To maintain secrecy, the *Parwanah*[3] ordained that none except the members of the Court could attend its meetings. Any disclosure, implicit or explicit, by any member without the authority of the Presidents, was punishable by removal from the Court. The same punishment was prescribed for any act of cheating the State, or showing partiality towards a person or a body of persons.[4]

The procedure formulated was neither comprehensive nor conformable to the parliamentary rules in any modern state. The Mutineers had no experience of parliamentary government, much less of drafting of procedural rules. All the same the underlying basis of the procedure seems to be the *Panchayet* spirit. It appears, as if it was devised primarily to satisfy the democratic instinct of the peasant-soldiers by establishing the supremacy of their own class whose socio-political organisation had always been the traditional *Panchayet*.

The Court of administration enjoyed enormous Powers, conferred upon it by a Royal *Firman*[5]. It was to administer the state, maintain peace and order, collect revenues from the sub-divisions, raise loans from the *Mahajans*[6], defend the realm and prosecute the war. The Emperor had promised the Court: "In reference to you no representation of any party whatever will be heeded; and in all such orders as may emanate from your Court, none of the servants of the State, nor the Princes Royal will in any way interfere."

A *Parwanah*[7] dated the 8th August, 1857, the only one of its kind available, gives us a clue to the nature of business transacted by the Court. This *Parwanah* convened a special meeting of the Court the agenda for which included the problem of proper administration of the City of Delhi, better administration of supplies, more efficient upkeep of the army, better distribution of post and of raising loans from the *Mahajans*. The Court issued frequent orders and circulars to regulate the discipline of the Army, to supress coruption, abuse of authority and rapacity.[8]

[1] *Op. Cit.* Rule Nos. 8, 9, 10.
[2] *Op. Cit.* Rule No. 6.
[3] *Op. Cit.* Rule Nos. 4 and 8.
[4] *Op. cit* Rule Nos. 4 and 6.
[5] Bundle No. 153 Foll. No. 12 (Persian), dated 19th August, 1857.
[6] Indigenous banker, money lender or broker.
[7] Bundle No. 57 Foll. No. 284 (Urdu), dated 8th August, 1857.
[8] Bundle No. 57 Foll. Nos. 9, 120 and 276 (Urdu), dated 13, 14 July and 8th August, 1857; also Bundle No. 57 Foll. No. 56 (Urdu), dated 3rd July, 1857.

Not only was the nature and extent of authority exercised by it wide and comprehensive, the Court was not prepared to tolerate any extraneous influences. In Military matters, for instance, neither the King nor the Princes had any effective voice. In a letter dated 26th June, 1857,[1] the King complained to his son, Mirza Moghul: "Orders have been issued day after day to the officers of the cavalry to vacate the garden (?) but they have till now done nothing except make excuses and promises." Again, in another letter[2]: "Formerly some troopers took up quarters in the Hayat Bakhsh and Mehtab gardens. Owing to the injury caused to these gardens through their stay, the troopers were made to quit on *our orders*. But now again nearly two hundred soldiers....are staying there....you are therefore, directed to *speak to the members of the Court* and have them removed."

On another occasion, he deplored that his military officers had a "practice of coming into the Court carelessly dressed and in utter disregard to the forms of respect due to the Royalty..... They come galloping on their horses to places.....which not even Nadir Shah nor Ahmed Shah nor any of the British Governor Generals of India ever entered on horse back." He cried in despair: "Do the Army have the welfare of the State (Feudal-Moghal) at heart?"[3]

The plight of the Princes was still worse. They could not wield any influence at all. In fact, the hopes of the princely order were being frustrated at every step by the "headstrong" an "insolent" soldiery. Mirza Moghal, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mutineers' Army for the first few weeks, wrote to Bahadur Shah[4]: "Your Majesty is aware that before (General) Bakht Khan[5] came, active operations of war were carried on daily and without interference. Your Majesty also knows that since his arrival several engagements have been fought. Today when I went outside the city with my army to attack the enemy, the General interposed and kept for a long time the whole force standing inactive. He wanted to know under whose orders it had come out and commanded that it was not to proceed without his permission. He forced it to return."

[1] Trial of Bahadur Shah, p. 9.
[2] Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 195 (Persian), dated 23rd July, 1857.
[3] Trial of Bahadur Shah, pp. 134-35: Copy of an order from the King to Mirza Moghul dated nil.
[4] Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 185 (Persian), dated 7th August, 1857.
[5] General Bakht Khan was "Lord Governor Bahadur, Controller of all matters, civil and military." *Vide* King's order Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 25 (Persian), dated 7th August, 1857.

The tussel which ensued between Mirza Moghul and General Bakht Khan[1] was not a case of personal bickerings. In fact, princely order could no longer place any confidence on the infantry.[2] The jealousy strife and contest between the Prince and the revolutionary General was in fact a conflict between the dying aristocracy and the new forces of peasant-proprietor democracy. It was not surprising, therefore, that the feudal aristocracy very soon began to groan under the levelling influence of the revolutionaries and faltered in the midst of the struggle. "The *Shahzadas* began to feel their condition perilous and tried to open negotiations (with the British)."[3]

The Court maintained law and order.[4] It was the highest Judicial authority. It created Courts, appointed judges, and regulated judicial procedure for civil and criminal cases. The police as well as civil administration was appointed by the Court and was responsible to it.[5] It put down bribery and corruption amongst its officials.[6] The man in the street had the additional guarantee of being able to appeal to the Court in all cases of abuse of authority and oppression.[7]

In the sphere of finance, too, the Court was supreme. Revenue officials were appointed by the Court and were responsible to it.[8] It alone had the authority to collect revenue.[9] To liquidate *Zemindari* system it gave proprietory rights to the tillers of land.[10] From the Court orders, it is evident, that it had intended to overhall the system of revenue assessment, but its authority was too short-lived to accomplish the task.

Dire necessity made the Court tax heavily. But one cannot lose sight of the fact that the incidence of taxation fell almost entirely on the classes which could pay.[11] The law left the man in the street absolutely untouched.

None except the Court could raise loans on behalf of the New State. Officials were required to immediately forward to the Court

[1] Trial of Bahadur Shah: Deputy-Judge Advocate General and Government Prosecutor's address to the Military Commission: p. 149.
[2] Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 49 (Persian), dated, 9th June, 1857.
[3] J. Cave-Brown: The Punjab and Delhi in 1857 (1861), Vol. I, p. 140.
[4] Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 137 (Urdu), dated 10th July, 1857. Petition of the Members of the Court to the King.
[5] *Op. Cit.*
[6] *Op. Cit.*
[7] *Op. Cit.*
[8] Bundle No. 129 Foll. No. 6 (Urdu), dated 18th August, 1857.
[9] Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 137 (Urdu), dated 10th July, 1857.
[10] *Op. Cit.*
[11] Bundle No. 153 Foll. No. 6 (Persian), dated 28th July, 1857.

any *Parwanah* received by them from any other quarters regarding raising of funds. They were also instructed not to arrest a person refusing to lend money without the summons of the Court.[1] Once when Mirza Sultan Khizr, a son of the Emperor, tried to raise funds on his own, the Court strongly protested and asked the King to warn the Princes.[2]

As is well-known the Mutineers suffered constantly from the financial bankruptcy and consequent discontent among their ranks and the civil population. Even General Bakht Khan admitted in a letter to the King that owing to the irregular and insufficient payment, the army lived by loot and plunder which, he feared, might result in a civil War.[3] But when Mirza Moghal suggested to the Emperor that plenty of funds would be forthcoming if he were to allow his Royal officials instead of the agents of the Court to collect the money,[4] the Emperor refused to give his assent saying that the Court was the final authority.[5]

It cannot, however, be denied that the Court was a miserbale failure in the matter of raising loans. On the one hand, the propertied classes were frightened at the demands of the revolutionaries for the abolition of landlordism and on the other, the peasant-soldiers were unable to entertain any idea of nationalisation of land due to the nature of their class-origin. The *Mahajan* refused to lend money except under duress. He could not have any sense of security in a regime where army lived by loot. Nor could he sympathise with the ideology of the soldiery. So, too, with the grocer who refused to sell his goods on credit to the new State which he knew was bankrupt.[6]

Hoarding, profiteering and black-marketing reduced the people to miserable existence. Indeed the Court made a heroic effort to save the State from an economic collapse. It fixed and controlled prices.[7] But in the absence of rationing, price control could never be successful.

[1] Bundle No. 129 Foll. No. 61 (Urdu), dated 18th August, 1857.
[2] Bundle No. 153 Foll. No. 17 (Persian), dated nil.
Bundle No. 57 Foll. No. 352 (Persian), dated 19th August, 1857.
[3] Bundle No. 40 Foll. No. 297 (Urdu), dated 9th August, 1857.
[4] Bundle No. 199 Foll. No. 248 (Persian), dated 6th August, 1857.
[5] Bundle No. 153 Foll. No. 16 (Persian), dated nil.
[6] Bundle No. 106 Foll. No. 20 (Urdu), dated 15th June, 1857.
Bundle No. 126 Foll. No. 20 (Urdu), dated 1st June, 1857.
[7] Bundle No. 129 Foll. Nos. 42, 49, 57, 79, 85, 100, 101 and 102 of various dates. Bundle No. 130 Foll. Nos. 5, 9, 17, 22, 25, 35, 51, 61, 67, 86, 90, 120, 121, 125, 150, 158, 171, 182, 188, 201 and 202 of various dates.

The revolutionary State was very short-lived. Economic sabotage coupled with the conflict of political ideologies and economic interests between the landed aristocracy and the peasant-soldiery, could not allow it to live longer than a year and a half.

Without an organised party bound together by ideological threads and having its roots among the people, such a struggle could never succeed. The leaders of the struggle visualised a state which was a magnified form of the old tribal *Panchayt*. Its social content was the institution of peasant-proprietorship instead of the old village commune. It failed because the peasant-son-in-uniform did not (from the nature of their class origin could not) nationalise the means of production and distribution. The betrayal by the propertied classes which contributed no less to the defeat of the Mutineers was born out of the different notions about the formation of a new state and a new society. Only if there had been a common and clear ideal about the future social reconstruction of India before the people and a unified party to lead them for its realisation, we would have a different story to tell about the great Peasant War of 1857.

Round the World

UNESCO and World Co-operation—

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation was set up at a Conference held in London in November, 1945. It is one of the " specialised agencies " related to the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O. It is in fact one of the ancillary organisations of the latter body. As its title would signify, the object in setting it up was to bring about closer co-operation between the nations of the world in respect of educational, scientific and cultural matters. Some spade work had already been done in this field by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which worked under the auspices of the League of Nations. But it would be wrong to think that much advance was made in this direction in the inter-war years. Consequently the UNESCO has to fight hard against national exclusiveness in all cultural matters before it may claim to have prepared the ground for a clear and easy understanding between different member-states. It should be borne in mind that until the cultural outlook of the people in different parts of the world is refashioned and adjusted to the one-world idea, it will be futile to think and speak of international co-operation in things of material significance. Consequently the work of the UNESCO should have precedence over the activities of the U.N.O. proper, and the attenion of the people everywhere should be more rivetted on the former than it has hitherto been. Unfortunately there are grave defects in the organisation of the UNESCO, which stand seriously in the way of its mission being duly fulfilled and its responsibilities being properly discharged. Dr. Radhakrisnan has done well in drawing the attention of the member-states to these defects. He has pointed out that of the 517 officers in the secretariat of the UNESCO 515 belong to Britain and the U.S.A. Naturally people elsewhere may be justified in regarding this body as an Anglo-American organisation set up to provide Anglo-American educationists with nice jobs and promote the designs of the two countries. Such a feeling, which may inevitably be created in these circumstances, will be a great obstacle which can be got over only by reorganising the secretariat on a more equitable basis.

The Security Council and India—

The Security Council is the pivotal factor of the United Nations Organisation. It consists of eleven members of whom China, France, U.S.S.R., U.K. and the U.S.A. are permanent members. The remaining six are elected by the General Assembly for a period of two years. In electing these non-permanent members the Assembly is called upon by the Charter to pay due attention and regard to the contribution of the member-states to the maintenance of international peace and security and also to equitable geographical distribution. In the vacancy caused by the expiry of

Australia's term, India put forward its candidature. The other candidate was Ukraine. Some countries supported India and some Ukraine. A deadlock ensued to resolve which Mrs. Pandit, the leader of the Indian delegation, has announced India's withdrawal. In this connection she made a short but effective statement delineating the circumstances of the election and the causes of India's withdrawal from the contest. She pointed out that if " equitable geographical distribution " which the Charter so emphatically enjoined was to be respected, there was no sense in opposing India's candidature. The Indian ocean region inhabited by five hundred million people would now go wholly unrepresented in the Security Council. This was certainly one of the contingencies which the framers of the Charter must have wanted to avoid. Unfortunately it was no respect for the Charter as arrangement between Great Powers which counted in the election. Evidently there was an arrangement between U.S.S.R. on the one side and Britain and China on the other for the inclusion of Ukraine in the Security Council. Mrs. Pandit protested against such previous arrangements which made election by the Assembly practically a farce. We would not of course mind at all the inclusion in the Security Council a state which would vote uniformly with the U.S.S.R. of which in fact it is an integral part but we would not like India being excluded from the Security Council. We may go further and say that India's claim to a permanent membership of the Council is as valid as that of those countries who are already in the Security Council on a permanent basis. There is no particular sanctity in number eleven. The Charter may be amended so as to make room for India.

" Little Assembly in U.N.O. "—

The Security Council does not stand in the same relation to the General Assembly of the U.N.O. as the Council of the League of Nations did to the Assembly. But under chapters V to VIII of the Charter it has been given certain definite and specific powers. It is consequently futile, without an amendment of the Charter, to make any attempts to bypass the Security Council. But it is this which the General Assembly has attempted to do by setting up a new committee which is to consist of as many members as there are states associated with the U.N.O. The power of veto given to the Great Powers is a basic factor of the organisation of the Security Council. It is true that the exercise of this power is inconsistent with the basic tenets of all governmental organisation. But the U.N.O. was not intended to be a world government in the ordinary sense of the term. It was intended only to provide a forum where the Great and other powers were to meet and chalk out by mutual consultation and arrangement certain measures for the security of the world. Consequently the right to veto a proposal was conceded without demur. Now however the frequent

exercise of this right by the U.S.S.R. exasperated the Anglo-American group of states and they tried to make the defect good by establishing a new committee which might act as an executive agency of the General Assembly. But without the co-operation of the U.S.S.R. which is not forthcoming this effort to bypass the Security Council and avoid the veto may not take us far on the road to world security.

Future of Muslims in India—

The division of India which was brought about on August 15, has not, as it was known it would not, solved the communal problem in this country. This division was demanded and arranged on the basis of the two-nation theory which Mr. Jinnah advanced and which the vast majority of the Muslim population accepted with alacrity. It is significant that Muslims in the Muslim-minority provinces of the old undivided India were in the vanguard of the movement for the establishment of Pakistan. There were few Muslims more ardent than they were in their advocacy of the two-nation theory. But when Pakistan has become an accomplished fact and the unity of India has been destroyed, these Muslims in the Indian Union numbering about fortyfive million find themselves face to face with a situation which they had not possibly contemplated. They want to remain where they are and that honourably and like men. They want to continue at the same time to pin their faith to the two-nation theory and remain champions of Pakistan's interests. But the two cannot go together. If they regard themselves as an entity, distinct and separate from the rest of the population in India and continue to be zealous supporters of Pakistan's interests, their obvious duty, as Sardar Patel and Pandit Pant have unequivocally pointed out, is to migrate to Pakistan. If, on the other hand, they intend to stay on where they are, they are cordially welcome to so, provided they give up the two-nation theory, regard their interests as bound up exclusively with the Indian Union, abjure all loyalty to Pakistan interests and make themselves in thought and action loyal citizens of India.

In order that the Muslims may have an opportunity of discussing their future policy and activity, Maulana Azad recently called a Conference to meet at New Delhi under his presidentship. Some Muslim League leaders and many nationalist Muslims joined the Conference and participated in its debates. But on the eve of this Conference Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, who, after the partition of Bengal and his rejection by the East Bengal Muslim League Party for the Premiership of that province, has managed to keep himself in the lime-light, called at his Calcutta residence a close-door conference of Muslim League leaders of the different provinces of India. The object of this Conference was obviously to take away the wind out of the sail of Maulana Azad's efforts. What exactly happened in this Conference held in camera, we do not know. But the speech of

Mr. Suhrawardy delivered at this Conference was published in extenso in the newspapers on his authority. Therein he emphasised the need of maintaining the solidarity of the Muslims as a community and advocated that in political as in other matters they should face the rest of the population not as individuals but collectively as a community. Consequently there was no sense in his view in disbanding the Muslim League. This point of view is dangerous to the interests of the Indian Union. It was first adopted by the Muslims in their address to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in 1906 at Simla and became the basis first of separate Muslim representation and then of the two-nation theory and Pakistan. Consequently any recognition of this standpoint will again create disruptive forces in India. The idea should therefore be nipped in the bud. It is good that Maulana Azad in his address to the Conference at New Delhi did not mince matters in this regard. He pointed out unequivocally that no communal political organisation would redound either to the credit or to the profit of the Muslims in India and should be abandoned without quibble. The Muslims should demand an honourable status in India, not as Muslims but as Indians and should not therefore attempt to be associated with the Indian state through the medium of any communal organisation of their own but directly as individual citizens. This is the way of peace, prosperity and happiness. The way Mr. Suhrawardy has suggested leads to discord, disruption and ruin. Let the Muslims ponder and decide.

House of Lords—

The Parliament Act of 1911 made the House of Lords an innocuous body in financial matters but reduced only theoretically the authority of that chamber in general legislation. From that time onward any bill certified by the Speaker of the House of Commons as a Money Bill is placed before the King for his signature with or without the consent of the House of Lords. But in respect of other bills the veto of the House of Lords may remain effective at least for two years after their first introduction in the House of Commons. A veto which cannot be overridden before two years may in practice stand in the way of many legislations which the House of Peers may not like and decide to turn down. Actually only the Irish Home Rule Bill was passed over the veto of the House of Lords. So long as a Conservative Government backed by a Conservative majority in the lower House remains in power, the upper chamber with its solid Conservative majority gives no trouble and remains quiescent. But a Labour Government with a will to adopt socialist legislation may be confronted with an opposition there which it may fail to override under the Act of 1911. That is why the Labour Government has introduced a Bill which, when adopted, will reduce the veto period to one year. The Government of Mr. Attlee is contemplating legislation for nationalising steel and

other basic industries. They apprehend that such bills may be turned down by the House of Lords and consequently it may not be possibly to pass them over this veto before the next general election. So the veto period has to be reduced. The bill has, however, been opposed, as it was expected to be opposed, by the Conservative Party. We do not know if in the face of this opposition this bill to reduce the veto period to one year can be passed in the ordinary way. It is not likely that the House of Lords will tamely submit to a self-denying ordinance and allow the bill to be passed without challenge. For two years at least it may hold it over. What will happen thereafter no body knows. If the local elections went in favour of the socialists, the House of Lords might not have dared to oppose a bill so seriously pushed by the Government. But these elections have gone against the Government and indicate an anti-labour swing in public opinion. It may, therefore, be confidently expected that the House of Lords will exercise all its constitutional power to obstruct its passage. Again when a constitutional method is available to override the veto of the Lords, any action to invite the King to create a large body of labour peers to neutralise Conservative opposition in the Lords will be untenable. So the bill to reduce the powers of the Lords may hang on for two years and possibly for an indefinite period.

Soviet View of Uncle Sam—

The Soviet Economist, A. Leontyev, published sometime ago two articles in the New Times of Moscow, which have now been reproduced in India in a pamphlet under the title Dollar Imperialism. The pamphlet gives us an excellent analysis, of course from the Soviet point of view, of American political and economic policy during the last one century. It also provides a background for the appreciation of the Marshal plan for rehabilitating the war-devastated European countries. The author makes without ceremony a frontal attack upon the oft-repeated American assertion that throughout its history as an independent nation the United States has abjured the path of imperialism and followed only the high road of democracy. He points out that at the time the thirteen American colonies of Britain declared their independence in 1776 they had an area of only 386,000 square miles but by the close of the 19th century this area was enlarged by more than 3,000,000 square miles. In other words during a period of one hundred and twenty five years the territory of the United States was ten times its original size. This enlargement was not a natural and inevitable one. Nor was it achieved peacefully. It was the result of 114 wars involving as many as 8,600 battles and engagements. They were fought mostly against the Indian tribes and Mexico and Spain. The enlargement of territory was in fact effected in the same way as an empire is carved out by an ambitious power. It is futile on this account, observes Leontyev, to think that the

United States has been non-imperialistic in its policy. The story of the Indian tribes being ousted step by step from their homeland and its inclusion in the United States, of the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, of the conquest of Texas, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico and California from Mexico, and of the annexation of the Hawaii Philippines, Porto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone is, if anything, a story of imperialist expansion.

Side by side its territorial expansion, there was a corresponding industrial growth in the United States. This growth became rapid and phenomenal in the decades after the conclusion of the Civil War in the sixties of the last century. At the time this war broke out, the United States held the fourth place in the world in industrial output and was not only behind Britain but also behind France and Germany in this respect. But three decades later, in the nineties, it outstripped these powers and came to hold the first place. It is significant that this rapid development in industrial organisation and output whetted territorial and political ambition outside the country. All the territories which were available between the seas had already been included in the United States. In the North further expansion had to stop short of Canadian boundary and in the South of the remaining portion of Mexico. So territories were acquired outside by a war against Spain. It is significant also that not merely by direct annexation but by political interference in the affairs of South American States the influence of the United States was extended and markets created for American investment. The War of 1914-18 stimulated further the prosperity of the United States. It is important to remember that while this War devastated Europe, it came as a blessing to America, so much so that by 1925 the industrial output of the U.S.A. equalled that of Great Britain, France and Germany taken together.

The resources of the country were immense and they were utilised in industrial output. On the eve of the second World War, the United States had only six per cent of the world population but had sixty per cent of the total output of petroleum, twenty-nine per cent of coal, thirty per cent of iron ore, twelve per cent of gold, thirty-five per cent of steel, thirty-two per cent of copper, twenty-two per cent of aluminium, seventy-one per cent of automobile output and thirty-one per cent of electric power generated. Its gold reserve amounted nearly to two-thirds the world's stock of gold. Although the industry was operating at only from 70 to 80 per cent of capacity, the total industrial output of the country was valued at sixty-eight thousand million dollars. If worked to full capacity the industry might have an output valued at about hundred thousand million dollars.

The second World War increased several-fold this already huge industrial output. If the production in 1939 was 100, in November 1943 it was 237. The national income was also correspondingly more than doubled. While production thus increased, the number of giant firms

increased as well at the expense of the small and middle firms. Actually 2,500 giant firms in the U.S.A. became responsible for two-fifths of the total industrial output in the capitalist world. This industrial concentration has, as it could be expected, worked only in the interests of the monopolies and at the expense as much of the general American people as of the people elsewhere. Only few industrial and banking groups as Morgan, Rockefeller, du Pont and Mellon now dominate the economic life of America and threaten to dominate the economic and political life in other countries. During the War the profits of these corporations were huge. " In 1942 the gross profit of five corporations was 100 times greater than their average annual profits for the period 1936-1939." As the War was over, these corporations, insistent on maintaining their profits, exercised every kind of pressure for the abolition of price control. The result was the mounting up of prices and they have now reached the highest level " in the past twenty-seven years." The abolition of price control coupled with the repeal of the war tax on super-profits has not only helped the firms to maintain their profits at the old level but actually to increase them still more. This is illustrated by the fact that while in 1943 corporation profits after the payment of taxes was ten thousand million dollars, in 1946 they were fifteen thousand million. In the present year they are likely to be still greater.

The question necessarily arises how these huge profits adding to the total stock of capital of America are to be invested. America no longer produces for the home market alone. Already a huge surplus of goods has to be exported and consequently further investment in industries which would produce for home consumption is out of the question. Particularly as the wages are not keeping pace with rise in prices, the capacity of the people to buy has been reduced, not increased. So this surplus capital must have opportunity of investment in other countries. But mere investment without political control would not meet with the demands of the American industrialists. Consequently the foreign policy of the United States has to be tuned to this economic ambition. " We must throw the full weight of our economic power into the scale of world affairs." So observed the President of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Had Mr. Roosevelt been living today, he might have resisted this intrusion of industrial and financial interests into the formulation of foreign policy of the country. But Mr. Truman, soon after stepping into his shoes, denuded his Cabinet of Roosevelt men and is pursuing a policy which might please Wall Street. So political intervention and economic investment are to proceed side by side. That is the background of the Marshal plan.

We do not know if some body may provide a very satisfactory reply to this thesis of Mr. Leontyev.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Onions and Opinions.—By N. G. Jog with a preface by Robert Lynd. Published by Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 142.

Most of the twenty-five essays collected in this volume appeared originally in various periodicals. Very bright and very charming, they are pronouncedly successful specimens of the familiar essay, the composition of which is largely a gift. Giving himself a charter as large as the wind to blow on whom he lists, Mr. Jog had dealt with all manner of subjects in his inimitable way, poking from as many things which have escaped the satirist's attentions so far. The clever illustrations contributed by " Picial " add to the attraction of the book.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

New Light on the Indian Problem.—By Swami Dharma Theertha, B.A., LL.B. Published by Har Bhagwan, Happy Home Publications, Krishnanagar, Lahore. Pp. 77.

The author who has several books to his credit, the most remarkable among them being *Menace of Hindu Imperialism*, is a Hindu social reformer who in this his latest book traces to caste most of our political ills. At the very opening of the book he tries to prove that Hindu social aloofness has led to the demand for Pakistan—a view supported even by nationalist Muslims like Ch. Afzal Khan and Mr. K. L. Guaba. In addition to alienating our Muslim brethren, the social rigidity of the Hindu has created an untouchables' political party. Holding the view that our British rulers for their own purposes supported the caste system, he says that as they feel that as they have realised that the time for them to quit India has come, they are wooing Hindu Imperialism. His suggestion is that India should be placed under the control of a Commission of the United Nations which he regards as " the most satisfactory solution of the Indian problem under present circumstances."

While there is much truth in the opinions set forth, it seems that the influence of caste in bringing about our difficulties has been over-emphasised.

Kashmir, Past and Present, Part I.—By Gwasha Lal, B.A., Editor, *The Kashmir Chronicle.* Published by the Chronicle Publishing House, First Bridge, Srinagar, Kashmir. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 5.

This is supposed to be a history of Kashmir from 5,000 B.C. to 1846 A.D. The long and probably mythical account of the various rulers of Kashmir makes tiresome reading for the ordinary man. The last two chapters " Phenomena in Kashmir " and " Monuments of Kashmir " are better

ut only slightly so. Quotations from poetry generally English and a training after poetic language, at least occasionally, are followed by what me is compelled to characterise as slang which does not add to any appeal he book may possess for its reader.

" PEREGRINE PICKLE "

Short Stories of Premchand.—Translated by Gurdial Mallik. Nalanda Publications, Bombay. Pp. 166. Rs. 4-14. 1946.

One influence of English studies in our country—a political influence —has been that the Indian literature has been altogether overshadowed, nd just as two Indians hailing from different provinces and sometimes ven from the same province indulge more in English than in any Indian nguage, however motherly to them, so in the matter of literary acquainance with modern India they prefer the English medium. There is no ther reason for the fact that " Premchand," the pen-name adopted by hanpatrai Srivastava (1881-1936) has been a stranger to lovers of literare in India who have not yet taken to Hindi or Urdu.

The short stories of Premchand are considered by many to be his greatest ntribution, even more than his novels, more than any other form of terary enterprise. There is a mixture of native humour, energy in style, nd a sense of the realities in life which is bound to please. It is quite ossible to trace this influence of contemporary trends in the content of he stories as in the story of Khubchand, to feel that the breath of the rger life has touched and moulded them.

The present selection, rendered into English by the well-known writer, hri Gurdial Mallik associated with Viswa-Bharati, will serve as a good troduction to the great author, for great Premchand surely is, and his me will grow from more to more as he becomes known and appreciated eyond the borders of Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking people, though s skill in both the languages (a rare gift) may not be communicated to e reader through this new medium of English.

P. R. SEN

The Nyayakusumanjali.—By Udayanacarya. Translated by Swami avi Tirtha. Vol. I, Books I & II. Adyar Library, 1946. Price Rs. 4.

The book under review is a translation of the first two books of Udayacarya's *The Nyayakusumanjali*. The Nyayakusumanjali is a logical eatise in Sanskrit and is definitely a difficult work. We must be grateel to the author for the attempt he has made to translate it into English. he translation would give the readers who are ignorant of Sanskrit some ea of Udayana's position regarding God and the concept of cause.

I, however, regret that several tracts in the book are not quite intelliible. The author says that it is no easy task to translate a work like dayana's. We wholeheartedly agree with him. Nevertheless, when

the task of translating is undertaken, we must see to it that it is well done. There are four things that are, to my mind, needed for accomplishing the task of translating a Sanskrit work into English. They are : proficiency in Sanskrit, logical acumen, deep knowledge of Western logic and philosophy, and command of English. The author is certainly a great Sanskrit scholar and seems to have confidence in him as a logician. But the trouble is that the translation betrays an attempt to adapt English sentences to the structure of the Sanskrit employed by Udayana. This is no doubt due more to lack of command of English than to anything else. The author will do well to remember that in translating a Text we are not to transfer the structure of its language to that into which the Text is rendered. I hope, when he will have occasion to re-write the book, he will see his way to make it more intelligible.

Thoughts on the Great Quest.—By Herambachandra Maitra, M.A., D.Litt. Price Rs. 5. 1943.

This is a collection of essays from the pen of the late Dr. Herambachandra Maitra. The book covers a variety of subjects, such as *The Longing of Man for the Infinite, The Hope of Immortality, Humility, The Value of Silence*, and, so forth. In the essays Dr. Maitra brings to a focus the ennobling ideas he gathered through his life-long study of literature both Eastern and Western. Most of them bear witness to the author's keen spiritual aspiration and moral fervour. Indeed many things he says there are philosophical commonplaces and platitudes. Nevertheless they all appear profound from the point of view of literature. The book will therefore prove useful to those who are assailed by doubts as to the worth of morality and religion, and who have not yet gone deep in their study of philosophy. The publishers are to be congratulated on furnishing a fitting memorial to the late Dr. Maitra who was known to his countrymen as a great moralist and devout soul.

ADHARCHANDRA DAS

Ourselves

Professor J. P. Niyogi

We offer our heartiest congratulations to Professor J. P. Niyogi, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor of Economics and a member of the Editorial Board of this journal, on his appointment as a Member of the Public Service Commission, West Bengal. Professor Niyogi has been associated with the Post-Graduate Department of this University for over 30 years. His services, first as lecturer and then as head of the Economics Department, have been gratefully appreciated by two generations of students. Although the University loses his services for the time being as a teacher and a director of research, we are comforted by the thought that what the University loses public administration in this province gains. It is also heartening to remember that Professor Niyogi continues to be associated with the University as one of its fellows.

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Dr. Stanley Reypins

Dr. Stanley Reypins, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed a Special Reader of the University to deliver a course of lectures on "The Race between Education and Catastrophe."

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Political Science as a separate Course of Studies

The University decided some time to divide the existing subject of Political Economy and Political Philosophy for the M.A. Examination into two subjects *viz.*, Economics and Political Science. The changes in the University Regulations necessitated by this division have been sanctioned by the Government.

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Girishchandra Ghosh Lecturer

A Special Committee for the appointment of the Girishchandra Ghosh Lecturer, 1947, has been constituted with the Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, as Chairman.

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University Convocation

The Annual Convocation which is usually held in March had to be postponed owing to abnormal conditions in the city and was ultimately held on the 3rd October, 1947. The function was unique in this year on the ground that for the first time in the history of the University an Indian Chancellor in the person of His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari presided over it. Dr. Sir Jnan Chandra Ghose, a distinguished alumnus of this University, delivered the special Convocation address to the graduates who assembled in large number.

8—1638P—VII

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Memo. No. C.1545/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, Berhampore Girls' College, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, Elements of Book-keeping, Chemistry and Botany to the I.A. standard and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Bengali (Pass), Sanskrit, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Persian and Arabic to the B.A. Pass standard, with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 15th November, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. Misc.R.4-

It is hereby notified for general information that the Governor of West Bengal has been pleased to order that Section 13 of Chapter XXVI of the Calcutta University Regulations will continue to operate for a period of two years with effect from 1st June, 1947.

"Notwithstanding anything contained in the Regulations the Syndicate may give such orders as may be necessary relating to admission and withdrawal of students, residence of students, conditions of study and examinations, conditions to be fulfilled by affiliated colleges and recognised schools, or such other matters as may be deemed necessary for the purpose of control, supervision and conduct of examinations and admission thereto. The regulation shall remain in force for the duration of the War and for such further period as the Senate may by regulation decide."

Senate House,
The 19th November, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/1102/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act 1904 (VIII of 1904) read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, the Scottish Universities Mission Institution, Kalimpong, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Hindi (Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/741/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of section 21, of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, Karimganj College, Sylhet, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Biology to the I.Sc. standard and in Commercial Geography and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-

keeping to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates at the examinations in the subjects from the year 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Copy of letter, dated the 12th August, 1947, (No. A18-7426) from Messrs. Burn & Co., to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

FIRST STAFF ASSISTANTS' SCHEME

The Steel Corporation of Bengal, Ltd.,
The Indian Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.

We enclose a notification which we have issued in the Press, and from which you will see that we are calling for applications from young Indian possessing suitable technical qualifications.

We shall be obliged if you will draw this Scheme to the attention of those students you may consider suitable.

THE INDIAN IRON & STEEL CO., LTD.
THE STEEL CORPORATION OF BENGAL, LTD.

FIRST STAFF ASSISTANTS' SCHEME

It has been decided to expand the Preliminary Training Scheme (now in existence for young Indian recruits holding a degree of diploma in Mechanical or Electrical Engineering, or Metallurgy or Applied Science of a University or recognised College in India (suitable applicants are now invited).

(1) Applications in the applicants' own handwriting should be made to Messrs. Burn & Co., 12, Mission Row, Calcutta (" F.S.A.S. " should be marked on the envelope).

(2) Applications should contain full details of education and practical training, if any, and also full personal data.

(3) Copies of recent testimonials (not originals) should accompany applications.

(4) Certain selected applicants will be invited to attend an interview at either Burnpur or Calcutta. All expenses in connection with such interviews will be borne by the applicant.

(5) Applications may only be made as directed in the notice. No personal calls or other direct or indirect mode of application will be allowed.

(6) Such number of applicants shall be recruited every year as the Managing Agents may direct.

(7) Each recruit shall possess the following qualifications :—

(*i*) (*a*) A degree or diploma in Mechanical or Electrical Engineering, or Metallurgy, or a recognised University or College acquired in India or abroad or partly in India and partly abroad, and some practical training abroad in an Iron and/or Steel, or a Mechanical or Electrical Engineering Works.

(*b*) A degree or diploma in Mechanical or Electrical Engineering, or Metallurgy or Applied Science of a recognised University or College in India, and practical training after the completion of academic studies in an Iron and/or Steel, or a Mechanical or Electrical Engineering Works in India.

(*ii*) Unless specially sanctioned by the Managing Agents, he shall not be below the age of 22 years nor above the age of 28 years at the time he is recruited.

(*iii*) He shall be able to write snd speak good English.

(*iv*) He should be presentable, possess good personality and must be physically strong to withstand the strain of work in operational departments.

(8) During the period of probation the salary shall be Rs. 225 per mensem for a recruit who possess foreign qualifications and training, and in other cases Rs. 175 per mensem.

(9) In the event of confirmation, the Graduation List will consist of three Grades, and the emoluments attached to them is as follows :—

1st Grade	.. .. ..	Rs. 350-50-450
2nd Grade	.. .. ..	,, 500-50-750
3rd Grade	.. .. ..	,, 800-50-1,250

Any scale of Dearness Allowance or other Allowance granted specifically to convenanted Staff as such will apply to Assistants employed under this Scheme.

For further particulars applications may be made to the Managing Agents.

The last date for the receipt of applications will be the 30th September, 1947.

No. F.23-2/47-OD-III

Government of India, Department of Education (India)
New Delhi, 3, *the 13th August, 1947*

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Dear Vice-Chancellor,

I forward for your information and such action as you may consider necessary, a copy of a current announcement relating to Alan Johnston, Lawrence and Moseley Research Fellowship to be awarded by the Royal Society, London, this year.

Yours sincerely,
P. JOHAN,
for Deputy Educational Adviser.

All Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY

Alan Johnston, Lawrence and Moseley Research Fellowship

Applications are invited by the Council of the Royal Society for the Alan Johnston, Lawrence and Moseley Research Fellowship into the problems of human and animal health and diseases and the biological field related thereto. The Fellowship will be tenable at any place approved by the Council of the Royal Society. Candidates should supply the usual personal details and give names of two referees. Testimonials will not be considered. Applicants and referees at a distance may write direct to the address given below, without first obtaining forms. The subject of the proposed research and the place at which it would be carried out, together with the name of the Head of the Department, should be given.

The appointment will be for two years in the first instance, from 1st January, 1948, and will be renewable up to a maximum of five years. It will be subject to the conditions governing Royal Society Research Appointments. The stipend will be £850 per annum, with superannuation benefits to which the successful candidate will be required to contribute 5% of annual stipend and to which the Society will make a contributiom of 10%.

Applications should be made on forms to be obtained from the Assistant Secretary, The Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W.1, and should be received as early as possible, in any case not later than 1st November, 1947.

The 14th July. 1947.

Notification No. Misc. R.3

It is hereby notified that Government have been pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapters XI and XXXIII of the Regulations relating to the division of the existing subject " Political Economy and Political Philosophy " into two separate subjects for the M.A. Examination, *viz.*, " Economics " and " Political Science."

Chapter XI

Section 7—Under Section 7, the subject " (*xiii*) Political Economy and Political Philosophy " be replaced by "(*xiii*) Economics " and the following new subject, *viz.*, " (XIII-A) Political Science " be inserted threunder.

Chapter XXXIII

Section 5—(*i*) The words " (*xiv*) Political Economy and Political Philosophy " in the list of subjects enumerated under Sec. 5, be replaced by " (*xiv*) Economics " and the following new subjects, *viz.*, " (*xiv*-A) Political Science " be inserted thereunder.

(*ii*) The words " (*xiv*-A) Commerce " be replaced by " (*xiv*-B) Commerce."

The following consequential changes be made in the other sections of the Chapter as stated below :—

The words " I-xiv-A " be replaced by the words " I-xiv-B " in (*i*) Section 1, 3rd, 5th and 6th paragraphs ; (*ii*) in Section 6 and (*iii*) in Section 1, line 1, under the head " General " (Regulations 1945, page 273).

Section 8—(1) The head " Political Economy and Political Philosophy " and the syllabus thereunder be replaced by the following :—

Economics

The courses in Economics shall be as follows :—

Paper I	History of Economic Thought (with a detailed study of one or more special texts to be prescribed by the Board of Higher Studies from time to time) ..	100 Marks

Papers II & III	Principles of Economics	100 Marks (each paper)
Paper IV	Public Economics (*This paper includes public Finance with special reference to India)	100 Marks
Paper V	Modern Economic Development (Countries to be selected by the Board of Higher Studies from time to time	100 ,,
Paper VI	Indian Economics (with a special study of selected problems to be prescribed by the Board of Higher Studies from time to time) ..	100 ,,
Papers VII & VIII	Two papers on any one of the following subjects to be studied, wherever possible with reference to Indian conditions	100 ,, (each paper)

(1) Currency and Banking
(2) International Trade and Tariff
(3) †Statistics and Demography
(4) †Mathematical Economics
(5) Agricultural Economics including Co-operation
(6) Labour Problems
(7) Industrial Organisation

and such other subject or subjects as may be added by the Board of Higher Studies from time to time.

2. The limits of the subjects shall be defined and books shall be recommended from time to time by the Executive Committee on the recommendation of the Borad of Higher Studies concerned so as to indicate generally the extent and standard of knowledge required. The Executive Committee may also on the recommendation of the Board of Higher Studies concerned alter or add to the subjects.

(2) That the following new head, *viz.*, "Political Science" and the syllabus thereunder be inserted below the syllabus under head "Economics."

Political Science

(1) The course in Political Science shall be as follows :—

Paper I	Social and Political Theory	100 Marks
Paper II	History of Political Thought	100 ,,
Paper III	Current International Relations (including a general knowledge of International law of Peace and War) ..	100 ,,
Paper IV	Comparative Governments (constitutions to be selected by the Board of Higher Studies concerned from time to to time)	100 ,,
Paper V	Government in India	100 ,,
Paper VI	Public Economics with special reference to India ..	100 ,,
Papers VII & VIII	Any two of the following subjects :	100 ,, (each paper)

(1) Early Political Institutions
(2) Public International Law
(3) Indian Political Thought—Ancient and Mediaeval
(4) Public Administration and Administrative Law
(5) Constitutional Law (with special reference to India)
(6) Principles of Sociology and Social Psychology
(7) Social Anthropology and Applied Sociology (with special reference to India)
(8) Principles and Practice of Local Government (with special reference to selected countries)
(9) Private International Law or Conflict of Law
(10) History of Diplomacy in International affairs and such other subject or subjects as may be added by the Board of Higher Studies.

2. The limits of the subjects shall be defined and books shall be recommended from time to time by the Executive Committee on the recommendation of the Board of Higher Studies concerned so as to indicate generally the extent and standard of

* A candidate who takes either subject 6 or 7 must also take the other.

† (A candidate taking either No. 3 or No. 4 as his special subject must have passed the B.A. Examination with Mathematics).

knowledge required. The Executive Committee may also on the recommendation of the Board of Higher Studies concerned alter or add to the subjects.

These changes will take effect from the M.A. Examination of 1949.

Senate House, B. B. DUTT,
The 29th September, 1947. *Registrar (Offg.).*

In addition to the candidates, whose names were published in the extraordinary issue of the Bengal Educational Gazette, July, 1946, as having passed the Intermediate Examination in Science held in February, 1946, the following candidate is also declared to have passed the Intermediate Examination in Science held in February, 1946 :—

(Second Division)

Bandyopadhyay, Mrityunjay (St. Xavier's College)

Senate House, A. P. DASGUPTA,
The 16th September, 1947. *Controller (Offg.).*

In addition to the candidates, whose names were published in the Bengal Educational Gazette, February, 1947 as having passed the Compartmental I.Sc. Examination held in December, 1946, the following candidates are also declared to have passed the Compartmental I.Sc. Examination held in December, 1946 :—

(Passed)

Bandyopadhyay, Manmathanath (Bangabasi College)
Chakrabarti, Karunkumar (City College)
Chakrabarti, Santoshkumar (Bangabasi College)

Senate House, A. P. DASGUPTA,
The 16th September, 1947. *Controller (Offg.).*

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1947

THE IDEAL STATE

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.
Calcutta University

PLATO outlines an ideal State in the *Republic*, which is one of the Dialogues that embody his mature ideas. It opens with the question: What is justice? Those who join in the discussion differ widely among themselves as to the exact definition of justice. However, in the end the question of justice is found to be bound up with the question of the ideal State. Plato devotes a major portion of the treatise to the delineation of the ideal State as he conceives it.

According to Plato, an ideal State is a perfect whole. There every individual occupies his peculiar position and performs the functions appropriate to his position. In Plato's opinion, it is only in such a State that justice can be found. But individuals there do not automatically form into a system. Even in the ideal State there must be some to govern, to enforce law and order. The structure of an ideal State therefore hinges upon the rulers or governors. There would be no respite from evil, says Plato, unless philosophers become rulers. What exactly does Plato mean? Philosophers are ordinarily regarded as good-for-nothing fellows; they are often ridiculed as star-gazers. This is, however, a misconception. Strictly a philosopher is he who has attained the knowledge of the ultimate, or, is in quest of it. If we bear this fact in mind, we can understand what Plato means when he says that philosophers must be the rulers of the State. A philosopher, being a seeker of the truth of things, must be free from prejudice, pettiness and narrow ideas. A philosopher as such would seek the ultimate Good which is the good of all. It is

therefore in the fitness of things that a philosopher is made a ruler. It is verily to such a ruler that one has to look for justice, security and humanity.

Plato works out an elaborate scheme of education of the guardians or rulers. They in their tender age should be picked out of the populace and regularly trained for long years with a view to making leaders of them. The course Plato proposes to this end is calculated to purge the would-be rulers of all selfishness and all sordid ideas and to fill their minds with love of truth. Plato goes the length of maintaining that the rulers must not have even their own families. There should be nothing to distract their minds. They should be absolutely free socially and economically, so that they are able to devote their whole being to the service of the State. We may not wholly agree with Plato on the details of his scheme. There is, however, something in the scheme which is of permanent value. This we must not miss. All that Plato seeks to impress upon us is this, that those who would be at the helm of the State should be men of sound education and wide culture and must on no account be guided by selfishness or by any sectional interest. This teaching is important for all time and appears all the more so when we consider it against the background of present-day Indian Politics.

What is the exact political situation of India to-day? It hardly needs saying that the last World War brought upon the nations the urgency of one world. Politicians and thinkers all over the world are at present working hard to bring about unification of the peoples that inhabit this earth of ours. We, however, feel that some centrifugal forces are at work to wreck the noble plan. This is deplorable. All the more deplorable is the fact that we in India are quarrelling among ourselves and have just divided between us this holy land of a very ancient culture. And why? Some say, and it is admitted on all hands, that the division of India must be considered the evil consequence of the conflict, real or imaginary between Hindus and Muslims, who are misconceived in some quarter as two distinct nations. It is true that communal riots have affected some parts of India for some time now. But we cannot omit to recognize the fact that many parts of the country, even to-day, are free from communal strife. And this goes to show that the Hindu-Muslim conflict is not country-wide. It does not remain for me to say that present-day feuds between Hindus and Muslims are not strictly communal. The two-nation theory has been propounded on an emotional basis and has no founda-

tion in fact. The mere religion professed by a people does not make them into a nation. None conceive or can conceive the Christian countries of the West as just one nation. It has already been pointed out by worthy persons that communalism is merely an instrument forged for a political purpose. We cannot properly assess it unless we analyse some aspects of British rule in India.

When the Britishers came to rule here India was not certainly one State. It is true that under British rule the major parts of India were unified. None the less there was not still one State of India in the strict sense of the term, but only one Indian Government grafted on the country from outside. Such a Government was essentially an alien Government to which the people of the country had but to submit. This defect of the Government was later sought to be remedied by admitting eligible natives into the Government machine. Though the parts of British India were linked up through one Government, yet sufficient care was taken to ensure that the unification of the parts and of the people there was not deep enough. Nay, the one Government maintained by force whatever unity it possessed, taking good care that the natives of the land were not properly unified. "Divide and rule" is the major statecraft. The British Government here made good use of it. The unity of the Government was indeed the background against which the division of races, classes, castes and communities was intensified. One of the phases of it all was representation of the backward communities in the Government Services. It is well-known that English education was introduced in this country in order to render Indians, some at least, serviceable to the British. And it was the upper classes that were the first to avail themselves of the opportunity of serving the Government. Later education spread and many belonging to the lower classes also received high education. The Government kept them out of competition with the progressive section of the people by allowing the backward communities to have adequate representation in the Services by way of nomination. The motive force that determined this policy of the Government was the desire to keep apart the higher and the lower classes. But the plan did not work so well as it was intended to. The upper classes did not in fact view the special favours bestowed upon the backward people with any ill-feeling. On the contrary, the former were, generally speaking, in full sympathy with the latter. In reality the plan defeated itself. There is no denying that so long India's caste-ridden societies were not very liberal in

their codes. Now the light of education reached the higher as well as the lower classes, and many of the backward classes were, by that time, possessed of culture and had equal status with the higher classes in the eyes of the Government. This had a wholesome effect upon social life. This in fact started a social revolution which is becoming increasingly visible to us.

The spread of education all over the country led to political awakening. The spirit of nationalism was stirred in the hearts of the educated. The urge for freedom found expression in the literature of the country. Articulate political organizations were formed to help national awakening and to wrest power from the British by constitutional means. The Government was evidently faced with a tremendous difficulty. The first impulse on the part of the Government was to suppress all political movement, and consequently an era of repression began. But this state of things could not continue for long. [Under the pressure of internal strife and international affairs the British Government now promised Indians progressive self-determination. Curiously enough nationalism in India was deepening and extending far and wide along with the renewed British promises of progressive self-determination to Indians. In combating nationalism the Government used its selfsame old weapon, namely, "Divide and rule." They fostered in various ways the anti-national forces, and these they employed to counter nationalism which was by now gathering volume. The policy of the Government in this regard was crystallized in the Government of India Act of 1935. And all this we can sum up by the phrase "communal award." Muslims and Scheduled Caste were the two communities singled out to have separate representatives of their own in the Assemblies under the new constitution. The communal award was designed to intensify the division between Hindus and Muslims, on the one hand and that between the so-called caste Hindus and the so-called depressed classes in the Hindu fold, on the other. In point of fact, however, the consequences of the communal award have been both good and evil. The political importance attached to the Scheduled Caste was the anticipation of far-reaching social reforms among Hindus themselves. The attempt politically to separate the lowest from the higher classes of the Hindu society has a healthy reaction upon both. This has set on foot a country-wide movement which bids fair to revolutionize the whole Hindu society.

On the other hand, as a result of the communal award, Muslims

as a community were set against Hindus. Most of the enlightened representatives of them now claimed a separate State for their community. I mean no disparagement to them, when I say that with them " community " became a category of thought. They could not think of anything political and economic except in terms of their community. This attitude led to disastrous consequences. The British government accepted Muslims as a major community, which as such is an integral part of India. But strangely enough this part is now conceived as a compact whole. It is now almost a crime to speak of Muslims as a community, because they now put themselves out very much as a nation. And as a nation they claim, and have just got, aState of their own. Now there are two Indias, two major Indian States, Pakistan and India as they are called. One India with her wealth and resources is divided between them. This is surely the culmination of the policy the British Government so far followed in India.

Some British politicians deplored the British plan of June 3 last for India. It would, as they contended, undo the achievement of British rule, which is the unity of India. There in no gainsaying the fact that the British evolved one Government out of a multiplicity of small States. It is true to say that they established some sort of unity in the multiplicity. But this unity was nothing more than the unity of an alien Government; several States and their people were simply brought under British rule. The truth is that whatever political unity exists to-day in India is to be credited to the Congress. It is the sacrifice and suffering of its leaders for long years for the country's sake that inspired the people of India with one ideal—freedom of the country. Still the Congress has failed to achieve complete unity. It could not subdue the forces that made for division. The majority of Muslims demanded a separate State for them, and their demand has now been conceded. The British Government cannot escape the tribute that the division of India is the final achievement of British rule in India. The division of India is, in the ultimate analysis, the fruition of the British policy. So the much-vaunted achievement of British rule in India was nothing short of a superficial unity of an alien Government. It is no wonder then that when this unity is now withdrawn, the division over which the unity was a mere cover becomes pronounced.

The point is that the policy of a communal State would be guided by a sectional interest. Such a State would be a State for the majority

community. What is a real State like? A State in the strict sense is based upon the will of the people for whom it exists. So those who work the machinery of the State, that is, the rulers, must be absolutely un-selfish and above all narrowness. All their policies and actions relating to State Affairs must be inspired by the sense of the whole and the common Good. This is the gist of Plato's teaching. He points out that, if the point of view of the rulers ceases to be impersonal and objective, the State would be no State; it would be only a pseudo-State. If Pakistan is to be a Muslim State and if India a Hindu State, each of them would be a mockery, and in each of them untold misery would be inflicted upon the minorities living under it by the narrow policy of the State and the sectional interest of the administrative machine. We may be told that Pakistan would be no more communal than India. Some League leaders have conveyed the idea that Pakistan would be a perfect State, a State of all and for all, irrespective of caste, creed and community. It is known to everybody that different communities and different races of people are scattered all over the country. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and others are to be found in India as well as in Pakistan. Each of India and Pakistan, to be a State in the true sense, must seek the common Good of its people. If this be so, why then so much fuss about a separate sovereign State for Muslims. If we, Hindus, Muslims and others, understand quite well what is meant by a State, and, if the State is to be based upon the people's will, why not then one united India and just one State? If we press for division and Balkanization of India, it seems that there is something wrong somewhere in us. We are definitely near our goal—complete freedom. But it is extremely painful to see that some in our country are still toying with the idea of State.

Anyway, division of India is now fact, and two new Dominions —India and Pakistan are just born. The Indian Constituent Assembly has set out in clear terms that the State of Indian Union would be a Sovereign Socialist Republic and has prefaced its proceedings with an unequivocal declaration of the fundamental rights of the citizens of India, irrespective of caste, creed and community. All this must be reassuring to every citizen of India. "Pakistan" was taken to mean a Muslim State. Fortunately, however, League leaders now find that Pakistan as a purely Muslim State is an absurdity, and that Pakistan in practice must be a sovereign State of all and for all living under it. And to this end the Pakistan Flag has been

modified. This augurs well for the future. The fact, however, remains that the minorities in Pakistan are very much alarmed in view of their past and present experiences and they, like the minorities in India, must be thinking of safeguards.

Really the minorities in India and Pakistan present one of the major problems of the day. On behalf of the minority communities it is often contended that they must have an adequate representation in the Services. And why? This contention is obviously inspired by fear of the majority community with whom the minorities have to live in the same State. But why should the minority communities be at all afraid of the majority community? It is pointed out that the majority community in their State would by their brute majority rule over the minorities and that the latter would be, to all intents and purposes, at the mercy of the former. The whole thing then turns on the constitution of the State in which the minorities concerned are to live. If the State be a democracy in the strict sense of the term, therein security and humanity would be guaranteed to every citizen, irrespective of caste, creed and community. And every individual of the minority communities would be on an equal footing with any individual of the majority community. In a democratic State there would, in short, be no clear-cut distinction between minority and majority community in the eye of the law.

On the other hand, if the State be such that in it the majority community rules, the minorities' fear that they would be exploited there is legitimate. To take one instance from history. In the Roman Empire the Romans were the ruling race. In the provinces of the Empire there were small islands of Christians. It is a commomplace of history that the Christians there refused to burn incense before the Roman Emperors, and the result was that they suffered terribly at the hands of the Imperial Authorities. There is no knowing what would be the form of the Pakistan State. The idea is, however, conveyed to us that, Pakistan being a Muslim State, its rulers would come from the Majority community there. Personally I do not find any harm in it. If the Muslim Rulers of Pakistan rise above communalism, prejudice and pettiness in mattere of administration, we fervently hope they would, there is no reason why Pakistan would not be an ideal State. And the minorities there would have no cause for alarm. They would in that case be assured of protection and free worship.

Granted that India and Pakistan would be two democratic States,

we have to see whether the minorities there must have their own representation in the Services of the State. A State to be democratic must indeed keep the Services open to all. A democratic State is a State of all and for all who live under it. So everyone is entitled to participate in the working of the Government machine, provided he has the requisite qualities and qualifications. The principle of recruitment to the Services must then be merit, not religion, caste or creed. The idea is that the State to be efficient must engage the best brains available in it. So there must be a proper intellectual test which every intending candidate for Public Service must have to pass. Such an arrangement does not debar any minority from joining Government Services. That turns out to be definitely a question of ability. It can be safely asserted that minotiries, either in India or in Pakistan, are much advanced. If recruitment to Government jobs be made by educational tests, they would come out quite well. The Greeks under the Roman Empire, for instance, were far more cultured and educated than the Romans themselves.

It may, however, be argued that all minorities are not equally advanced in education and culture and that their interests on this account must be safeguarded by an adequate representation in the Services. But what is the point of it all? This or that individual may seek a job under the State for gain. But a community as a whole can have no material gain by any representation in the Services, except that some State money comes into the pockets of some individuals of their group. Nevertheless it is not that the community concerned is, as a whole, thereby enriched. Nor can representation in the Services do any political good to the community in question. In a democratic State every official is to be guided by the sense of justice and the Common Good, and must therefore be above any sectional interest and all sordid ideas. So the officials coming from a particular community strictly cannot do any good, economic, political or otherwise to his community at the expense of any other community, or at the expense of the State. As soon as they do so they sin against the principle of law and justice, and, for that reason, against the State. And they must be forthwith removed from office.

It may still be contended that the communities that are comparatively un-advanced in education must have in some way representation in the Services. There is undoubtedly point in this contention. But then there is no question of the minorities *versus* the majority community. It all is a question of the backward com-

munity or communities. In some State we find that the majority community is lagging far behind the minorities in the matter of education and culture. If, in such a State, merit and ability be taken as the principles of selection in recruiting officers and officials, the minorities will predominate in the Services there. Nobody can deny that the State should take proper care of the backward people. They must be educated and encouraged to share in the responsibilities of administration. An adequate representation in the Services of the backward communities would do them a supreme good. It would put confidence in them and would instil into them the sense that they are the worthy elements in the whole to which they belong. The function of representation is then symbolic. Its effect is psychological and makes for the advancement of the community concerned.

Now, if the State be such that the majority community there is all hostile to the minorities, no amount of representation in the Services can ever safeguard them. The number of Government jobs they may hold, however great, can never save them from the onslaughts of the majority community. The safeguard the minorities seek lies partly in the nature of the Constitution and partly in the goodwill and generosity of those who are entrusted to work it. If the Constitution fail the minorities and if the leaders of the State turn their backs upon them in the hour of need, the minorities must feel like being cast adrift; in that case only Heaven can save them.

ATOMGRAD

(THE SECRET ATOMIC RESEARCH CENTRE OF THE U.S.S.R.)

J. ALBIN KUGELMASS AND C. G. STRIDBECK

(Military Correspondents of the Swedish Monthly Allt)

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY P. K. BANERJEE, N. K. I. SWEDEN

THE message which was flashed across half of the world in secret Soviet diplomatic code was finally deciphered at " Grant's" office. " Grant," a middle aged gentleman with wavy hairs, just turning grey, friendly-looking eyes, an energetic chin and thin lips, and an air of cynicism all about him. He was in the uniform of a Colonel of the Red Army, who had his office upstairs in a villa-looking tile-roofed building of the Russian Embassy at Charlotte Street in Ottawa. Nikolai Zabotin—Russian Military Attache—were the only words, which were inscribed on the name-plate, fixed on the main entrance of the Embassy building. He was at the same time the Chief of the Russian Military Intelligence Service in Canada, who had his secret office in one of the wings of the same building, which also housed the offices of the N.K.V.D. (Russian Secret Police) department. The main entrance to the building had double steel-doors and all the windows were bullet-proof. It was so closely guarded that even the Chief of the Embassy found it difficult to gain an easy access there.

The Colonel went through the just deciphered message which told him at the end to immediately put it into the fire after he had done with it. He applied a lighted match-stick to it and carefully saw to it that it was completely reduced to ashes. He then rang up his secretary Igor Gruzenke, alias ' Clarke ' and gave him instructions how the whole thing should be planned. Zabotin went on working with great success. A few months later he was decorated with the Red Star, besides being honoured with many other distinctions and a congratulatory telegram from the Chief himself, which read as follows : I wish you still more success in your honourable mission. The Chief was in fact the highest officer of the Russian Intelligence Service which had its headquarters in Moscow. Zabotin looked very cheerful when addressing one of his assistants, Major Rogov. He said : Now I need not be in a hurry to get back to Moscow.

Just a few months later secretary Igor Gruzenko was seen standing in the witness-box of the Canadian Department of Justice to depose in the greatest spy-trial in the history of Canada. He had already decided to turn an approver by betraying Zabotin's secret activities connected with his gigantic espionage work.

Twenty two civil and military officers who were entrusted with atomic research work were all found guilty of disclosing top military secrets to the Soviet Union. Most of them acknowledged their guilt and were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The iron ring of secrecy was further tightened round the Atom Bomb-Project, which was better known as " The Plan Manhattan," though great mischief had already been done by the leakage of news and data regarding the bomb which had already been secretly telegraphed to Moscow. The trial which was held in camera in the Canadian Court of Justice had the object of squeezing out news as to how far the Russians had succeeded in making the atom bomb. It was only sometime after the end of this trial that a definite answer to this puzzling question could be found in an interview which the cropped-hair and bulldog-faced Chief of the American United Press, Hugh Baillie, had with Marshal Stalin. The query was whether the U.S.S.R. had an atom bomb, to which the answer was a point-blank " No." In other interviews which he had with the Generalissimo he could gather that the Marshal was inclined to the view that the real significance of the atom bomb had been highly exaggerated and that only people with weak nerves would get panicky. The latest Russian budget which sanctioned 6,3 billion roubles for scientific research in order to increase the economic and military strength of the Union, however, looked like militating clearly against this declaration of the Marshal.

Away on the banks of Svyatoe Morye (Bright Lake), which forms a link in the chain connecting " the holy and rich " Lake Baikal, and hemmed in between steep mountain cliffs and strongly guarded by special contingents of the Red Army, is located a newly set-up factory where Russian physicists and German and Central European research workers are working at top-speed. It is the Russian answer to the American atom bomb factory at Oakridge in Tennessee. This place is undoubtedly the most jealously-guarded of all Russian military secrets. This is Atomgrad, the centre of research and manufacture, where two secret weapons for the Red Army are being developed and perfected. One of these is a new and simplified type of the

atom bomb and the other the all-destructive Cosmic Ray, which is more terrible than that which Jules Vernian fantasy could ever depict.

Atomgrad sprang to life with all its din and bustle about a year ago,—to be more precise in October, 1945. Russian atomic research which was so long carried out in Turkestan, the Urals and in Eastern Siberia, has now at last been concentrated in a most desolate and bleak spot on earth where sheer and barren cliffs rear their heads high from Tundra-like wastes. The surrounding areas within a radius of 250 kilometres have been declared a prohibited zone, where patrols of the N.K.V.D. keep a sharp vigil, and any person who dares approach the area without having the necessary permission will have little chance of safely getting back to narrate the full details of his experience. There are occasions when some workers are replaced by new hands, and as the whole place remains seething with activity all the time, the lines of communication with the outside world also remain ever busy. Not all the workers who get back to their homes are in a position to maintain strict secrecy about their activities. In the beginning the existence of Atomgrad was taken *cum grano salis,* but gardually rumours about it began taking more definite shapes. When all the relevant facts and data concerning the growth of this secret town could be finally gathered, it was possible to chart it to the minutest detail. If anybody has a chance of travelling in one of the numerous motor-convoys that constantly ply along the newly constructed roads, he will find that the town looks more like a mining centre than anything else. This is how an eye-witness described it.

Innumerable shafts and drilling machines can be seen raising their steel skeletons against the background of black-grey slopes of the Baikal ranges. Lifts and winches are also seen working at full blast in the huge concrete buildings of the laboratories. Just outside this busy factory-town lie the workers' barracks, which are so designed that they can be easily dismantled and removed to a safer place, if and when security reasons would so demand. Strong contigents of mobile guards are posted round this area and rigorous precautionary measures have been enforced by setting up machinegun nests at all key points thus making it impossible for any undesirable person to approach the area, which apparently looks like a mining centre but really tends to serve the purpose of a camouflage. The buildings and structures that are visible on the surface are of secondary

importance as the real factory manufacturing atom bombs has been constructed underground. The five shafts that can be seen working day and night are really meant to camouflage the main entrance to the subterranean laboratory and workshops where the cyclotrone for the actual splitting of the atom is housed. Spreading in a semi-circle from the centre lies the research laboratories, the most important of which is the Kujemskaya, situated on the eastern bank of the river Lena just south-east of Vitim. Here work has been going on at a feverish tempo to produce new types of radio-active elements, which will be cheaper and more effective than those already known to Science. Here throbs the heart of Russian atomic research industry, which employs no less than two thousand skilled workers. Bathing establishments for the workers and workshops housing turbines of German model, but made in Russia, the barrack-like quarters of the workers and amusement-parks are all located side by side in this vast industrial area.

The whole Atomgrad-Project typifies a unique race against time, in which in all about four hundred thousand workers are taking an active part. A working-day here means round-the-clock activity and holiday is a word unknown to the workers, who are made to work in shifts and the interval between each shift is only three hours. After every change of shift new gangs of workers can be seen marching past in military fashion down the catacomb-like subterranean passages, which are lit up by day-lamps, whose fantastic blue-violet glare gives the place the appearance of a spirit-world. A close study of the workers will reveal that they are all tall and sturdy in their general make-up. They are specially selected to be able to withstand the severe stress and strain of this hard job. After every change of shift the relieved workers have to proceed immediately to the bathing establishments to take a plunge as a precautionary measure against any injuries which might have been caused to their system by radio-active emanations. Promiscuous bathing is a feature of this place, where about forty per cent of the workers are females. In the case of Oakridge however different methods of insuring against radio-activity are employed. There every worker is provided with a Geiger detector which gives a timely warning against increased radio-activity and there the working hours for workers drafted for specially risky jobs are systematically regulated and checked. Here the workers are given completely freedom of choice in the matter of spending their leisure hours. There is a

picture-house where propaganda films and other films of topical value are shown to them. There is also a theatre where artistes from different theatrical troupes provide them with regular dramatical entertainments. There is also a lecture-room which is decorated with a life-size portrait of Marshal Stalin and where red flags and propaganda-posters are in display. Here lectures of educative value are delivered almost every day. There are other items of amusement as well for them in the shape of brothels and one-glass bars, where only a glass of Vodka is served to every visitor.

Most of the research workers of this place were recruited from the Radium Institute of the Academy of Science in Moscow, whose Chief is the internationally known professor Alexander Szdanov who recently got the Stalin Prize of one hundred thousand roubles for his researches in Cosmic rays. Some of the most eminent scientists of the Union are now working in these laboratories. One of them is the nuclear physicist, Peter Kapitza, who received his education in England. But the Russians are not lacking in foreign help which come mainly from the Germans. Ever since the first column of the Red Army crossed the borders of East Prussia they vied with one another in making attempts at capturing alive German scientists and technicians, who were suspected of playing important roles in Hitler's experiments with heavy water. After the fall of Berlin the main preoccupation of the Russians had been to throw a cordon round the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute whose research workers had astounded the entire Scientific World by their unique experiments in uranium atom in 1939. The Russians not only dismantled the giant cyclotrone which was housed in a cellar of the Institute but they also transported it to regions beyond the Urals at the same time as they took with them to the East quite a good number of German research workers among whom was the famous physicist Baron Manfred Von Ardenne. At first they were sent to Sukhum on the Black Sea where they were quartered in an elegant villa situated on the foot-hills of the Caucasus. There they were provided with good food and all other amenities of life.

They had to spend a couple of hours daily in helping their Russian colleagues who were engaged in atom-splitting experiments in a laboratory just a mile away from that place. Their present address, however, is Atomgrad, where in the Kujemskaya laboratory German is more frequently heard spoken than Russian. It is now common knowledge that the German professor Binder is the central figure of

Russian atomic research and that his Austrian colleague, the reputed chemist Friedländer, is his chief collaborator. These Germans are the only people of Atomgrad who are not communists. The rest are all cent per cent faithful to the Party and only those who have been members of the Party for several years and whose loyalty is unquestioned are allowed to work in this Atom City. The qualifications demanded of the workers are of such an exacting nature that their relatives have to undergo a searching test before the workers can be finally selected and entrusted with the secret work.

From the highest chief, professor Gemkov, down to the meanest sweeper or the ordinary shoe-maker and even the girls of the brothels are all champions of Marxism and all that it stands for and they are at the same time fanatical believers in the gospel of Lenin. In order to be able to stand up to the hardships involved in this dangerous and strenuous job, a burning zeal and an unflinching faith in their own cause seem to be a prime requisite. With the philosopher's stone of fanatical tenacity they are making a determined bid to catch up the Americans in the production of atomic weapons.

The percentage of casualties in Oakridge is said to be much lower than here and this is probably due to the fact that the Russians have an almost cynical indifference to all that represents human values and partly perhaps due to their adopting altogether new experimental methods. Time and again the entire Russian system of security measures has completely broken down and a glimpse of the grim and tragic background of the worker's life there can be had from reports of calamitous accidents which leak out inspite of a stringent blackout on news, which is so scrupulously enforced.

The greatest calamity in the short history of Atomgrad took place on 23rd April this year in Kujemskaya. During an experiment of bombarding atomic nucleus with artificial rays the protective cover of lead and concrete was blown to pieces, as a result of which the waters of the reservoirs adjoining the experimental room became radio-active. This terrible catastrophe took a very heavy toll of human lives. In all 314 persons were killed, among whom were also professor Ganchisk, the leader of this experiment and his assistant the German professor Kemper. There was an outbreak of great panic among the workers many of whom fled to Vitim helter-skelter. It was a most pathetic sight. Long columns of the injured and the badly-burnt completely overpowered by panic were seen making desperate efforts to escape from that veritable hell

which was described in Atomgrad as the ' Silent Death.' As a sequel to this the authorities at first decided to give up the idea of using this area for any further experiment. Investigation into the cause of this disaster was, however, held by experts in protective uniforms and when they were fully satisfied that the damage caused was actually less serious than anticipated the place was not ultimately given up as an experimental base.

" When we were almost ready to get back we found the radio-active waters of the reservoirs shining like burning oil in the darkness of the evening." This is how one of the members of the investigating party reported. In his report he further stated that the water-surface was found to have gone down considerably and instruments lying at a distance of 2,000 metres from the place of the accident could record radio-activity. Experts however did not fail to utilise this occasion for further devising ways and means of neutralising the harmful effects of radio-activity. In these experiments eleven more persons lost their lives of whom nine were German prisoners-of-war, who were used as human " guinea-pigs." Work in Kujemskaya could be resumed only after 17 days of the accident and in about a month's time the whole organisation could once again function in its former capacity.

How far the Russians have advanced in this direction is the big question-mark of the hour. Their intensive researches have been going on for at least two years and a half, whereas in the case of the Anglo-Saxon powers they have been going on for four years. But if reports emanating from different sources be true the Russians have not only succeeded in catching up the Americans but in some respects they may also be said to have out-distanced the Yankees.

In America uranium is still considered to be the most important basic element required for the development of the atomic industry. The Russians, likewise, in the beginning experimented with this mineral, which could be worked out in relatively large quantities within the Union. But a single code-telegram from Colonel Zabotin altogether changed their experimental methods. It was through a certain J. S. Benning, who was ultimately sentenced to a long term of imprisonment in the big Ottawa-trial, that the Colonel came in possession of very valuable information and secret reports, from which it became evident that the process of manufacture of the atom bomb was very tedious in its preliminary stages, when the slow and difficult process of isolating isotope 235 had to be gone through.

It was therefore decided in Moscow to proceed on an entirely new line of experiments and to devise ways and means of finding out new substances which would be more suitable for the purpose. These experiments were successfully carried out in Kujemskaya, and they led to the discovery of at least five new elements, which were hitherto unknown to Science. Two of these can now be produced artificially while the remaining three can be found in nature. One of these is protoktinum which when bombarded was found to react exactly in the same way as uranium. This element is however rather scarce in comparison with the vast deposits of uranium which are to be found in the Union. The ratio of difference in the availability of these two elements is 1 : 12. But inspite of this disparity protoutinum was considered more suitable for the manufacture of the atom bomb and it was therefore decided to concentrate all energies on this new element. None can say with accuracy whether the atom bomb as a finished product ever left the factories of Atomgrad at all. It is one of the most jealously guarded secrets of the Soviet Union. But there are many signs which clearly indicate that it has already been an accomplished fact. One of the Russian observers at the Bikini test was reported to have exclaimed with a chuckle :—We will test our own atom bomb in the near future.

One of the writers of this account had a personal talk with one of the German research workers employed there, who was definite in his assertion that the Russians have theoretically as well as practically solved the secrets of the atom bomb. In some respects the Russian type of the bomb is said to be even more effective than the American. By using wolfram as a substitute, which has a comparatively lower atomic weight than uranium the explosive power of the bomb could be increased, as a consequence of which the size of the detonating mechanism could be considerably reduced. According to this German research worker the Russians hope to be able to manufacture within a short time atom bombs having an overall weight of only 250 kilogrammes as against the giant 1,000 kilo. bombs of the Americans that are being produced on a mass scale at Oakridge.

Though the Russians have made revolutionary progress in scientific discoveries yet it must be conceded that the Americans are still maintaining a quantitative lead in stocks of atom bombs. The Russians are however determined not to lag behind and are constructing in feverish haste two new factories near Vladivostock. According to the opinion of many experts the Russians will get the

upper hand of the Americans in the manufacture of atom bombs when the productive capacity of these two newly set-up factories will be brought into line with that of Atomgrad.

The scientists of Atomgrad have devoted themselves not only to atomic research but they have at the sametime set before them the task of perfecting the art of modern warfare. They are thereby playing the dual role of scientists and military strategists. They have even gone to the length of thinking in terms of altogether changing the tactics of modern warfare by making a switch-over from the field of atomic research to Death-rays. These researches in harnessing the destructive power of the Death-rays have not yet borne fruit as has been the case with the other destructive weapon of war,—the atom bomb. But if they can be successful in their experiments with Death-rays they will surely come in possession of a weapon, which will be a thousand times more powerful than the atom bomb. The Russians are no dreamers. They mean what they say and they hope to be able to produce such a weapon within a short time. A dark innuendo about such a possibility was given by no less a person than Molotov himself, who when addressing the U.N.O. said,—one should not lose sight of the fact that an atom bomb from one side will be answered by an atom bomb from the other and perhaps with something more. This "something more" has kept busy the brains of the scientists of Atomgrad in the Baikal ranges. It was just a few years ago that a big scientific expedition was organised and sent out from Atomgrad to the inaccessible regions of the high plateau of Pamir in Tajikistan in Central Asia, which are popularly known as the Roof of the World, to set up an experimental station there. Here among the snow-capped peaks now lies an observatory for the study of Cosmic Rays, which is perhaps the largest and most up-to-date of its kind in the world. Rockets equipped with measuring instruments and transmiters for automatic recording and reporting of atmospheric conditions obtaining at an altitude of 40,000 kilometres were sent up with tubes containing virus and bacteria to ascertain how microorganisms react to changed conditions at high altitudes. On other occasions rockets equipped with automatic cameras and film-apparatus were sent up for taking pictures of meteoric phenomena and Cosmic Ray spectra. These experiments helped the Russian scientists to collect valuable data regarding the ionosphere, the mysterious protective screen surrounding the earth. Russian scientists are basing their calculations on the theory that

the earth is exposed to a constant bombardment by infinitesimally small projectiles, which are even much smaller in size than the atoms and which are hurled through the vast expanse of the space at a terrific speed. These invisible missiles break through every form of resistance and pierce through every object that is to be found on the face of the earth. A man for example is pierced by these projectiles about 200,000 times per hour. This phenomenon is known in science as the Cosmic Rays. Thanks to the extensive protective measures provided by Nature herself the effect of these rays on the human organism has been rendered absolutely harmless. Most of these projectiles are stopped in their flight towards the earth by the forty mile thick protective layer of the ionosphere and the fraction which reaches the surface of the earth is checked and neutralised by the different electrically charged layers of the ionospheric filter. If on the other hand these invisible rays could reach the surface of the earth unhindered in their original strength and speed all cells of the human body would have been completely destroyed. Inspired by an indomitable will to victory and fired by an almost fanatical zeal for confronting the scientific world with a *fait accompli* the Russian scientists of Atomgrad and those of the experimental base situated on the Roof of the World have geared up their efforts to realise in the quickest possible time their common aim of finding out a method, by which it will be possible to neutralise a limited area of the electrically charged layers of the ionosphere and so remove their inherent qualities of giving protection against the Cosmic Rays. If these experiments prove successful in the long run a gigantic whitish lightening-like flash can be made to hit the exposed area of the target at the fantastic speed of 300,000 kilometres per second. All organic life,—human, animal, plant and even bacterial—will be completely destroyed in the fraction of a second. Death will be soundless, sudden and complete. The landscape of the affected area will undergo a complete change. Rivers and all other water-courses will be dried up and a terrible earthquake will shake the whole area. No living thing can have any chance of surviving this terrible catastrophe. The victors in a future Cosmic war can hardly reap any advantages in the devastated areas. The vanquished country in such a war will not be in a position to pay any reparations to the victors as every vestige of life there will be completely wiped out. From the view-point of productivity the devastated regions will be rendered as barren as the Gobi Desert. Now the question naturally

arises why the use of such a terrible weapon of destruction is being contemplated in a future war. The answer to this has been furnished by an expert of the American War Department in these words :— One can not close one's eyes to the fact that the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki could get back to the ruins of what once were their hearths and homes after twenty-four hours of the bombardment.

The Cosmic-Bomb or the light Russian type of the aotm bomb, when used in mass-scale bombing, will perhaps have a far greater effect on the morale of the enemy than anything else so far known to man.

Complete and sudden destruction of all life is the programme of the Russian scientists of Atomgrad.

MOLIÈRE

M. M. DESAI, M.A.

IV

MOLIERE'S plays can be classified under four types, some in verse and most in prose and sometimes mixed up with ballet. These four types are farces, comedies of intrigue, comedies of manner and comedies of character. He began his dramatic career with farces like *La Ja Consie de Bar buillé, Le Médecin volant,* later on so admirably represented in *Le Médecin Malgré Lui.* He continued to write them during his mature stage. They were often based upon old French and Italian models and were influenced by comédie delarte. His comedy of intrigue is imitative and derivative in which we have succession of incidents and confusing complications, characters little more than mere marrionnettes, surprise furnished by the turning and winding of plot. His comedies of manner put on the stage the ridiculous in a class or individual or an epoch. We have examples of this in pieces like *L'Ecole des Femmes, L' Ecole des Maris, Les Femmes Savantes.* In the comedies of character Molière puts before us the personification of one of the general whims or eccentricities or failings of human beings which are harmful in their effects on him, his family or society. We have fine examples of this type in *Le Misanthrope, L' Avare, Le Tartuffe, Le Malade Imaginaire.*

In his comedies of manner and character the method employed by him is different from the one used in his derivative and imitative comedy of intrigue. In the latter he gave many turns to the action, aroused suspense anew when the play seemed to be about to end and brought the intrigue to a sudden close when the confusion was at its height. In the former kind of comedy he invented or adopted an action which should reveal the character or develop the social question he wished to present. In this kind the plot was governed by the character and moved forward in a single line with a clear motivation to a logical outcome revealing its comical implications. The interest was centred not in movement and bustle as in the case of the farces or comedies of intrigue but in the controlling idea of the main character but which is uniformly presented from its comic

side. Various scenes are introduced not for the progression of the plot but for the revelation of character foibles with stresses on their comic aspect, for instance the dinner preparation in *L' Avare*. In Molière's character presentation there is the device of character contrast as well as dramatic heightening, for instance the two brothers in *L' Ecole des Maris*, and two friends in *Le Misanthrope*. In Molière we have not a developing character as we have in Shakespeare but generally a fixed character whose fixed idea is revealed comically from various facets or in conflict with various persons or situations. There is no Hamlet or Macbeth in Molière's character creations. The *idée fixe* (the fixed idea) of the character is fully and most comically brought out and for this purpose he uses static characters. Thus they come to represent a type—hyprocrisy in the case of Tartuffe, avarice in the case of Harpagon and misanthropy in the case of Alceste. But if they are types they are types that live.

V

Molière is the greatest name in French literature, unlike his two great contemporaries, the tragic dramatists Corneille and Racine, his plays are appreciated not only in his country but in other countries as a matter of fact all over the world. He is the best known and most popular among French dramatists, the greatest dramatist after Shakespeare, one who has influenced most the subsequent development of European drama. One is almost tempted to declare that since Molière's time a comedy is good in proportion as it approaches Molière's comedy and mediocre or bad to the extent it departs from it. He knew the art of making his spectators recognize themselves, their children, neighbours, friends and foes in his plays.

It may be useful in order to analyse Molière's dramatic genius to consider it from the point of view of what it is not and then proceed to state what it is. With William Morris Molière might have stated, " Of heaven and hell I have no power to sing." He did not bother about the perplexing problem of man's whence and whither nor does he deal in his dramas with the great elemental forces of life. He was not a tragic writer; he knew and felt tragedy but the tragic note is muted in his muse. Though he might have repeated with his later disciple Beaumarchais, " If I did not laugh I should be moved to weep." In his fellow creatures as well as his own follies and foibles he saw the pity of it as well as the fun of it. The failure of his play *Don Garcie de Navarre* proved that both as an actor and author his

genius was not suited to the heroic style. This is a romantic play without romance; a heroic play without a hero. It might have been a masterpiece of comic irony but actually it is an essay in romantic failure. Molière was not like Homer or Virgil creator of a larger imaginative world, nor like Spenser a creator of a world of beautiful fancy. His men and women are of the earth earthy. The scenes in which they move and have their beings are quite ordinary; they are human nature's daily food. His characters are persons of the society of his day. In his world there is no epic or romantic spirit. Further there is no love of Nature displayed in his plays. The passages in his plays in which he uses nature for the purpose of simile or metaphor are so few that they can be counted on one's finger. Further he is neither a political nor a social nor a revolutionary reformer like Rousseau or Voltaire; nor even a crusader inside or outside the theatre like Ibsen or Shaw. Molière's plays are fundamentally dramas not debates like those of Shaw.

Turning to the more agreeable examination of what Molière's dramatic genius is we find that his dramatic genius represents the golden age of Louis XIV. As a dramatist Molière was a Parisian of middle extraction, a child of the *bourgeoisie* of his day, a court protégé cocking his fingers at the social and individual follies of his day.

Louis XIV was the most splendid patron of the literature and arts of his time who ruled a modern state. The French language and civilisation during his reign obtained a hold upon Europe which has been maintained to this day. To Louis XIV must be given the credit of appreciating the comic genius of Molière. He supported Molière as author and man against the persistent calumny and misrepresentations of his enemies; he consented to be god-father to his first child and silence thus the dastardly charge against Molière that he married the daughter of his former cast off mistress.

Molière's work is a faithful mirror of the France of Louis XIV. He is the best representative writer of the society of young Louis, that golden period of security between two periods of insecurity due to the early civil wars of the Fronde and the later disastrous effects of the exhausting expansionist policy of the aged monarch. The young king and his courtiers and people enjoying a period of prosperity were ready for the gay, inconsequential laughter of Molière who supplied them with freshest and freest of mirth. Here it may not be inappropriate to quote what Meredith wrote in his *Essay on the Idea of Comedy.*

"Molière's wit is like a running brook with innumerable fresh lights on it at every turn of the wood through which its business is to find a way. It does not run in search of obstructions to be noisy over them; but when dead leaves and viler substance are heaped along the course its natural song is heightened. Without effort, and with no dazzling flashes of achievement it is full of healing, the wit of good breeding, the wit of wisdom."

Molière was a lover of the golden mean; he disliked excessive enthusiasm and was a sceptic within limits, a practical good-tempered man. He took a central standpoint of looking at everything from that uncommon thing common sense. His servant maids and valets are often mouthpieces of common sense. Sosie, that delightful valet in *Amphitryon*, is like most of us common mortals not cast in heroic mould and is therefore unwilling like Falstaff to seek the bubble Reputation in the cannon's mouth. He speaks there the language of common sense. In other plays Molière's pert, pretty, practical minded servant women and resourceful, rascally valets are not only purveyors of comic situations and episodes and ruses but the voice of common sense. Toinette in *Le Malade Imaginaire* and Nicole in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* are good examples of this point of view. Molière made of laughter the most useful and certain weapon of reason. His guiding principle is not Nature (follow Nature thesis as Faguet says) but common sense. Granted common sense morality is not the highest type of morality; that common sense will not make a saint or a hero, a Gandhi or a Shivaji. But for most of us commonplace persons it is the sheet anchor of sanity. If Molière's morality is modest and unambitious it is at least sound and wholesome.

We must remember that one touch of folly makes the whole world grin. The genius of mirth is never out of date and is cosmopolitan. Exposing the follies of his fellow creatures he did naught in anger but all in fun. There is no cynicism of Swift, the vineger of Pope, the cold detachment of Hardy, the polished dilettantism of Wilde's humour in Molière. His laughter is natural, spontaneous, copious, healthy and lambent. Credulous fathers, pert maid servants, resourceful valets, fools, knaves, pedants, male and female all serve as grist to his comic mill. In some of his shorter plays he catered for those who were not ashamed of laughing at simple but honest fun. In his greater plays he based his appeal to laughter on the firm and sure ground of human nature, with its back-slidings and contradictions, its strange mixture of wise and foolish, noble and base, lofty and

ridiculous. His jokes are never literary; they spring vigorously from the character revealing itself thoroughly to its depth. His comic art lies not merely in trick of words like Chesterton's; it resides in character, gesture and situation. With Molière there is no truth without the comical, no comical without truth.

While with the same subjects like avarice, misanthropy Balzac in his *Comédie Humaine* made us shudder Molière makes us laugh. Let us compare Balzac's *Eugenie Grandet* with Molière's *L' Avare.* Both deal with the unsocial passion of avarice. The novel is a tragedy; the play in spite of its sordid glimpses and its tragic suggestions begins and ends as a comedy. The difference in the two works shows the different ways in which the imagination of the two men worked. Grandet is a man of great ability and resolute purpose with a real genius for business. His large commercial schemes are different from the timid usury of Harpogon. Balzac was fascinated by the devastating power of evil and therefore depicted a successful villain. Molière was more impressed by the limitations of criminals, by their stupidity, the timidity or the self-indulgence which in the end tripped itself. Harpogon is a man of mediocre intelligence victimised by his opponents. The passion of Balzac's criminals gives them genius; the passion of Molière's criminals makes them dupes. It is the ridiculous and not the tragic side of human nature and failings on which Molière concentrated. The triumph of Moliére's comical genius lies precisely in seizing the latent gaiety in each type of character and situation. His plays run through the whole gamut of the visible.

Molière does not say condescendingly with Puck, " Lord, what fools these mortals be " but in a spirit of camaraderie he seems to say " what fools we mortals are." This lover of the comic showed his supreme comic genius in laughing at himself, a prophylactic against pessimism. The man who can laugh at himself is at liberty to laugh at us, his fellow creatures. We are reminded of Burns' couplet

> " Oh would some power the giftie give us
> To see ourselves as others see us."

Few prophets and politicians possess this divine gift; but Molière, the greatest comic genius, possessed it. He laughed at the folly of old men marrying or seeking to marry young girls, a folly he himself committed. He laughed at incompatibility of temperaments leading to matrimonial misery, his own case again. Sick unto death he jested at sickness, feigned it and died with a comic grimace.

He is the least academic of the French classics. No mixture of *genres* could be more absurd than the comédie-ballet which he developed to please the king which is but mixtures of opera, ballet and play; but Molière's genius fused them into a new artistic form. Molière wrote for the men in the theatre and not for the careful reader in the study coning over the improbabilities. There is often looseness in the construction of his plot—but not in that of the character. Within the limits of his subjects he observed the unities. He adopted the family as the framework for his plays, the unity of place he observed by making the action take place in one room of a single house. But he never bothered about rules. He rightly said that the great rule of all rules is to please, the rest are mere means. He was not a rule-bound dramatist. The spectator who laughs does not bother whether Aristotle approves or forbids him to do so according to his dramatic rules. Intrigue has a secondary place in his better type of plays. Plot invention is not his forte. " I take my property wherever I find it "; he stated. The practice of his time was that subjects and characters belonged to any actor or author who could turn them to good account. There was no law then of theatrical copy-right. Molière often took the old conventional, banal formula of two young persons in love, crossed by a father, mother, guardian, helped by a friend; valet or maid, bothered by a ridiculous rival, ending in the final victory of young love over the old people, freely using some comic ruses for that purpose. The comedy mainly arises in these plays from comic situations, or characters. Molière is a dramatist of the young for the young.

Molière's expositions are often masterpieces; his dénouements are often unconvincing, unsatisfactory and awkward. The first scenes of *Le Tartuffe, Le Misanthrope, L' Avare* are masterpieces of exposition. After having disposed off the character exposition Molière's interest in the play waned and he cut the knot in the plot somehow. It is difficult to have a sounded conclusion in a comedy as it is possible to do so in a tragedy. The King's intervention in *Le Tartuffe*, of a lost father in *L' Avare*, pretended loss of wealth in *Les Femmes Savantes* are some of the unsatisfactory means employed by Molière to cut somehow the knot in the play. But he puts on the stage a galaxy of comic characters, men and women drawn from all sorts end conditions of society; the marquis, burgeois, pedants (provincial and metropolitan), lawyers, doctors, social climbers, valets, maids, bores, knaves, dupes and duped, humbugs. Follies like avarice, misanthropy,

prodigality, coquetry, stupidity, hypocrisy, egotism, jealousy are exposed in his plays.

Turning to the language and versification of Molière we may accept at once the statement that he had a great facility in writing verses but he is not a great poet. He possessed a faculty of effortless rhyming which made Boileau admiringly ask him " Teach me, Molière, where you find rhyme." He had a fair facility in turning out Alexandrines in French. Molière's style and versification have been the subject of much adverse criticism. Much ink has been shed on the topic of his style. He wrote too hastily to write perfectly to satisfy the academic purists. He was charged by critics like Le Fontaine La Bruyère, Fénelon, Vauvenargues, Gautier, Schérer with negligence, incorrectness, inelagance, use of jargon, abuse of metaphors, incorrect grammar, padding in verses. Schérer condemned his inorganic style and went to the length of stating " He is as bad a writer as can be." Sarcey and Brunetière defended his style.

Let us turn to see what can be said in defence of Molière in face of this formidable array of French critics condemning him. To Molière language was a means with which to get things said. His style is not bookish and pedantic. We must remember that spoken language is often incorrect and Molière's style is primarily spoken and not written. The drama unlike the novel is the literature of those who do not read. His verse and prose are primarily intended to be heard and not read. Molière above all things aimed to be natural and he succeeded in this object admirably. If he wrote badly as Schrérer says, he did not write badly for the stage. His dialogue is easy and conversational, proceeding smoothly and naturally in an effortless manner that is the despair of more academic minded dramatists trying to imitate it. Further we must note that Molière takes care to make his style conform to his characters and it is both dramatic and comic but not literary and academic. We must also remember that while academic minded critics condemned it, actors, dramatists and dramatic critics agree in praising unreservedly the dramatic qualities of his style. It is a living style and its supreme merit is that it is varied with the speaker. The more important characters have their distinctive modes of speech and their little tricks of phrase and expression. He reproduces the jargons of the valets, the pedants, the doctors, and other classes of characters. He finds for all his characters the appropriate expression and lights upon it like a bird on a bough. He speaks in turn the language of sense and sentiment,

tenderness and malice, indignation and detachment, peasant and prince, realism and romance. His style in verse and prose is a reflection of his free spirits and his candid intelligence. His prose dialogue is masterly and his verse has an ease and variety if not the other higher poetical qualities.

VI

Molière in his plays continually mocks at the medical profession. Aside from passing remarks about doctors he makes four or five plays turn directly on the ridicule of the medical profession. *L' Amour Médecin, Le Médecin Malgré Lui, M. de Pourceaugnac, Le Malade Imaginaire.* He had no personal ground of rancour against the medical profession. His own doctor, M. de Manvillain, was a personal friend of Molière. Once he said to the king about his doctor : " We reason with one another ; he prescribes me remedies ; I omit to take them and recover." Louis XIV, when some doctors complained to him against Molière for his making fun of them laughingly said to them : " The doctors make us weep so often that they may well now and then give us some occasion to laugh." Molière did not make fun of the doctors but he made fun of the pompous, ignorant and ridiculous in the doctors. Molière made a character of his in one of the plays say : " Nearly all men die from their remedies and not from their maladies."

Molière had a keen eye for the charlatan in art, science and religion and the quackery of the medical profession did not escape his comic castigation. Medicine was never so dangerous to human life as in the seventeenth century. Puffed up with pedantry the doctors of those days believed in two things—purging and blood-letting. For every disease these two remedies were often prescribed. Louis XIV was a constant victim of his doctors. His fine constitution was ruined by the perpetual medicaments, purges, etc. of his doctors. His doctors used to treat him not only for the ailments he suffered but they used to physic him for the illness to come at least once a month. Guy Patin a doctor of those days bled his wife twelve times for pneumonia and his son twenty times for fever. This doctor said, about a brother doctor who died after declining to be bled, " May the devil bleed him in another world."

The medical consultation in *L' Amour Médecin* reads like an impossible burlesque to-day but it was not even a caricature. It was a comic transcription in form and substance of an authentic dispute

between physicians at the last sickness of Cardinal Mazarine. Four doctors were called at the bed of the cardinal and they disagreed and declared the seat of the malady to be liver, abdomen, spleen and lungs respectively. One of these physicians later was greeted by a crowd in Paris : "It is the good doctor who killed the cardinal." *Le Médecin Malgré Lui*, in which a wood-cutter is forced to become a doctor gives us lot of fun against the medical faculty. In *Le Malade Imaginaire* Molière hurls his comic darts against the hypochondriac as well as the doctors. The hypocondriac Argan justifies his attempt to force his daughter to marry a physician's son who is also a physician. " Because I am infirm and delicate, I wish to have a son-in-law and relatives connected with the medical profession so as to be fortified with good advice when I am ill, to have in my own household the assistance and remedies that I need, and to have as many consultations as I like." It is that maid Toinette advised him to get his younger daughter married to an apothecary to complete the project. When his plan goes wrong he is consoled by being himself initiated into the medical faculty and this gives rise to the comic burlesque of the ballet at the end of the play. When courting a young girl the fatuous aes Thomes Diaforus can think as a means of entertainment this singular idea. " I will invite you to come one of these days and amuse yourself with the sight of the dissection of a woman upon which I have to lecture." Argan is perplexed because his doctor told him to walk about in his room every morning dozen times backward and forward but he forgot to ask whether it should be the length or the breadth of the room. The consultation between the two doctors, father and son, in this play and their efforts to impose upon the ignorant hypochondriac saying : boiled and roast meat are the same thing, distempers of spleen and liver are the same, the grains of salt to be taken with an egg should be " six, eight, or ten, in even numbers, just as in medicine we use odd numbers " is an enjoyable hit at the doctor's ways.

Molière's great comic successor G. B. Shaw has also exposed the pretensions of the medical profession. When a patient dies the fault is nature's ; when he survives the credit goes to the doctor, but the doctor gets his money whether the patient survives or dies. Shaw says that it is odd that doctors are allowed to have a vested interest in disease. Doctors use Latin in writing prescriptions and impressive looking symbols for weights and measures. *Extractum glycir-hizoe liquidum* means liquorice and water but sounds impressive to the patient and is profitable to the physician. One of the worst rackets

of to-day is the patent medicine racket. Doctors ought to be paid in order to keep us well and all payments to them stopped as soon as we fall ill as was the wise custom in China in ancient times. Both Molière and Shaw attacked the doctors' vested interest in our ill-health.

VII

Molière represents the most vital and enduring qualities of his race. At the same time his plays are a protest and correction of the defects to which the French genius is peculiarly liable. He sought to protect it from the excess of the excessive logical spirit of his race. One of his famous lines is "The heart has its reason which the reason does not know." Molière's point of view is mainly that of the middle-class Parisian of his day. His indifference to religion, his acceptance of the common judgment of men as his standard, his lack of impractical idealism in art, morals or things intellectual and his attacks on extremes of every sort—all these reflect his origin, his experience and are the basis of his greatness as well as his enduring popularity.

No man was ever more melancholy and seclusive. Birban called him "*le Contem Aleteur*"; yet no writer was ever so abounding in gaiety and so social in his work. This man was a dauntless fighter who persistently challenged the society, religion and learned professions of his time; yet no writer was ever so moderate, so conservative, so measured in the portrayal of men and manners. The dramatist who had been admired for 300 years as the champion of the golden mean, of the virtue of prudence and moderation was refused a Christian burial by the clerics of his time as an impious revolutionary. It is a sad commentary on the mentality of his clerical contemporaries. Even the great Bossuet indulged in a vituperative sermon on the death of this great dramatist. When the clergymen refused Molière a proper Christian burial his wife angrily but aptly said, "They refuse a tomb to the man who deserves an altar." This lord of laughter was buried in a corner of the graveyard reserved for vagabonds. But Molière has survived the disregard and disgrace inflicted upon him by the clerical cabal. The elements were so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world "This was a perfect comedian." The world will continue to read and enjoy him as long as civilisation lasts.

MAN

(English Translation of the 'Mieset' by the reputed present-day Finnish author Toivo Pekkanen)

Translator : P. K. Banerji, N.K.I. (Sweden)

After stepping out of the restaurant, he stopped for a while on the road and gazed at the buildings—lined on both sides of the street. It was a November afternoon and the day was fast drawing to a close. It was raining, and the intense cold was literally biting. It was such a terribly unpleasant evening : It seemed that all things, both animate and inanimate, had formed a league to plague the spot with cold and moisture. As far as one could see, the street at the time, was wholly deserted. Usually on such evenings nobody would care to stir out of doors, but with Herr Heikkinen it was a different story. The more the elements grew furious, the more his mind would grow restless, and that uncanny feeling of extreme restlessness strongly urged him to sally forth from his shelter, when it rained, and when snow fell thick and fast. His old auntie (father's sister) had not long ago prophesied, observing this trait in his character, that this queer practice would prove to be Herr Heikkinen's undoing one day. But up to the present nothing untoward had happened and Herr Heikkinen himself had taken very lightly the forebodings of his auntie. He had a fantastic notion that he was so physically constituted by God that his strange body had the magnetic power of creating conditions for the forming of unfavourable weather conditions just as a lightening conductor has the power to attract lightening. He used to brag of this power before great and good men and felt a peculiar pride in talking of this power. It was great fun for him to think of the close relationship that existed between himself and the natural powers. Of all the traits in his character, perhaps this peculiar trait is worth mentioning. He had just then finished one of the coarsest of dinners in a public restaurant. He had not the means of ordering a full-course dinner, but, nevertheless, this ordinary fare was good enough to fill his empty larder and to warm up his cold body. He had not the least inclination to go to bed after he had finished taking his dinner. The clock had just struck ten and he had no wish to retire for the night so early. He thought, rather a stroll down the street

would held his digestion. With this thought in his mind, he set out for a walk, but when he got going, he felt the sting of the cold, dank air on his face. Oh : it was hell of a cold : The lower portion of his overcoat was getting entwined in between his legs by the force of the wind. Thus being compelled to walk in a half-stooping manner against the velocity of the wind he could not keep his head erect and walk in a dignified way, which was his wonted manner. As he was threading his way through such deserted and dark street, the cop on duty, had his suspicion aroused and he looked at him searchingly for a while. But he did not get nervous and without caring to look back at the cop, went his way. The policeman could not muster courage enough to do anything to him. Walking in this way for over half an hour he met a gentleman for the first time who was not a policeman. These two had met each other before in a very small town, where the population was not more than fifteen thousand. They were friends and it did not take time for them to recognise each other. The two friends met each other for the first time after a long while in this autumn night. They started conversation right then. As the cold moaning wind was blowing right in their face, they took shelter under the projection of a huge building. The next door building was a restaurant. It was the rendezvous for the members of an unknown Committee. They could hear the notes of musical instruments, which came floating on the air through closed shutters. Except for the muffled notes of the musical instruments the whole place was steeped in silence. It looked as though everyone had gone to sleep and lest their talk might arouse somebody from his or her slumber, the two friends carried on their " tète-a-tète " in an undertone. After some time, a number of people came out into the street from the restaurant, laughing and talking excitedly. It was apparent that they had been drinking. After they had gone, again everything around was hushed in deep silence. The two friends once again fell to talking. Just as they had started their conversation, they could see, not far off, in the darkness, something very much like a human being was hesitatingly approaching them. When this figure came to close quarters and stopped, the friends saw that the figure was really a human being. This new-comer asked the two friends for matches in order to light his half-burnt-out cigarette. When Herr Heikkinen had lighted his cigarette, the two friends closely examined the stranger. The stranger looked lean and lank and he was, as a matter of fact, mere skin and bone and his rags bore clear

testimony to his utter destitution. In the light of the match-stick, they further discovered that his face was tanned and his facial muscles had gone saggy as a result of which it was disfigured by wrinkles. After his cigarette was lighted, the man began taking long pulls at it. " Nicotine has the wonderful power of allaying nervous excitment; it is a pity, it is my last cigarette "—he exclaimed after a short pause. When the cigarette stump was almost burnt out, he threw it away into the drain and thrusting his hands into the pockets of his tattered coat, he stood silent. Though the stranger could see that the two gentlemen had not the heart to carry on further conversation with him he did not tear himself away from them, but rather remained rooted to the spot. It seemed as if by remaining in close proximity of the two friends, he was getting more warmth and comfort. One more brief pause, and he asked them again with one of his fingers pointing towards the restaurant—" Are you members of that body ?" Heikkinen did not give any reply,—so great was his disgust.

" Well it is good, you aren't, I do not like the fellows. Are you then members of that club ?"—he went on asking, pointing his finger towards another house in the West.

" No "—replied, Heikkinen's friend.

With a shake of his head and staring them in the face and raising his hand and pointing it towards an easterly direction, he enquired rather inquisitively.

" Well, then are you members..... ? "

" No, no, we do not bother our heads with Politics." Heikkinen replied rather gingerly.

" Strange, you say you do not find interest in politics : " the man barked out excitedly.

After some humming and hawing Heikkinen's friend said : " Of course we go to the pools to cast votes."

The poor man put on a long face and stared at the two friends in the darkness. All his enthusiasm was on the wane. After some abstraction the poor man again began questioning them, impelled as if by curiosity.

" Aren't you members of the Salvation Army ?"

" No "—replied Heikkinen's friend.

" Well, are you then in any way connected with the Bible Society, or may be, with the Easter Friends ?"

" No "—was the reply, Heikkinen gave.

"Then it seems you do not care for the great and noble things of life," the old man said, in utter amazement.

"Good God, you seems to be strange creatures."

Herr Heikkinen and his friend looked at each other and thought that it would be the height of arrogance if they made light of the questions put to them by the poor old man.

"It is a pity, we are none of these. We are only just ordinary human beings,"—Heikkinen said in the end, after some hesitation.

"Human beings: what are human beings?" the old man asked, a little amazed.

On hearing such an exclamation, Heikkinen's friend said in wonder —"Probably you are drunk and that may be the reason why you can't keep your head."

"Nothing of the sort, I am perfectly in my senses. The thing is this,—I have done a lot of travelling in my life and I have gathered a lot of experience in the course of my ramblings. These new experiences have made me forget the past ones. But one thing of the past, I yet remember; I remember to have heard of such a creation as, Man, from time to time."

"Who are you then?" asked Heikkinen, "Won't you tell us your name? Your name probably would give us many a clue as to who you are and what you are."

"Goodness me, my name? it won't benefit you to learn my name. Nobody has ever heard of my name; I am an utter stranger in this wide world. But I think, if I tell you something about my life, you may guess who I am. Well, I am a wretch, who never had any success in life and who never had gifts and charity bestowed upon him by the world after his heart, in all his life. And the pity of it is, I never could learn in all my life a vocation which could have enabled me somehow to maintain myself. Long before our Saviour Christ came into this world, I had been roaming in this wide world all alone. My garb was made up of the discarded rags of the rich and the well-to-do. Not only that, ever since the dawn of History, I have been roaming and roaming among all manner of people, and with the passage of time, my tattered linens have changed for equally bad hand-me-downs. And luckless that I am, I have not yet got a decent dress to put on.

If, luckily, I have had a hearty meal, unluckily I have not had the comfort of lying in a snug warm bed. At different times, among different people I always had a different name to go by. I have

also witnessed the upheavals of destiny, but I have not changed a whit—I am the same as before. Throughout the ages and among all people, I have been the same loathed creature, down-trodden and relegated to the lowest strata of Society. I have been differently branded at different times by different people. Sometimes I have been called a beggar, at others I have got the appellation of a vagabond. At times I have even been set down for a swindler and have been looked down upon as a dreg of Society. When I was on bad days I queued up with the workless and the hungry. But the tragedy of tragedies, is, that during good times when the workless on getting employment have danced for joy and threaded their way towards work-shops, I alone was left behind and had to stand outside. I have had to spend my days and nights at different places. Sometimes I have had to live in a dilapidated, insanitary and filthy house of the town. At other times I have had to pass my days and nights in damp cellars, or in rest houses set up by the Salvation Army. Not infrequently I had to spend my times in poor-hospitals and even among corpses in graveyards. Volumes have been written upon me and many a soft-hearted lady has shed bitter tears in going through such books, delineating my suffering. For making my lot lighter and brighter many thinkers have racked their brains. In their sympathy for my cause they have heaped curses upon the world and tried to put the people of the world to shame. To afford me protection many laws have been enacted and new thoughts have sprung up in the fertile brains of the reformers. To give me succour many a king has been dethroned and there have been innumerable revolts in my behalf, but luckless that I am, all these efforts have gone in vain. I remained and still remain as I was before in spite of all these efforts. Writers, championing my cause have made a pile and made a name for themselves. In my support many new ideas have cropped up in this world. Several political agitators have brought about revolution for me and have come to be regarded as leaders among celebrated political reformers. Their names are writen in letters of gold in the annals of history, but alas : I shall remain the same hungry and unknown being in the society of man.

Gentlemen : I have gone from door to door and have tried to embrace this or that faith but I never found a single door open for me and that is why I am the wretched being as you find me now.

" The night is very wet and cold. I now look to you, who have

posed as good men for help. Can't you, please, give me shelter for the night ?"

" I am buzzing off "—said Heikkinen's friend, a little tired and ruffled.

He raised his cap a little and vanished into the darkness saying —" Hyva yo," (Good night).

Herr Heikkinen, too, felt like getting back to home because he thought it inadvisable to carry on further conversation with a stranger, whose ways of life aroused nothing but suspicion. But though he felt like it, he could not turn his back upon the stranger so callously and coldly as his friend had done. He began to rummage his pockets for coins. With out-stretched hands he gave the stranger coins and said—" Look here, please, and take then. If you go ahead, you will surely find a door, which if you rap it with the coins, will be thrown open for you."

The old man blurted out in joy—" Kittaan (Thank you). Now I am convinced that there are real good men in the world though their numbers can be counted upon one's fingers."

Heikkinen replied—" That remark of yours is very true. Hyvasti (farewell)..... I am off."

NICHOLAS ROERICH: POET-PHILOSOPHER OF PEACE

PROF. B. S. MATHUR, M.A., B.A. (HONS.)

ARISTOPHANES has these beautiful lines, which will be of immense profit today when the world is obsessed by aggression and its after-effects :

> From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion
> With which we vex one another
> Give us rest.
> And mingle again the kindred of the nations in
> The alchemy of love.
> And with some finer essence of forbearance
> Temper our minds.

What is this alchemy of love? What is forbearance? And what are the murmur and subtlety of suspicion? A little of reflection will present to our minds vividly the history of mankind, which is, without an exaggeration, a stormy and disturbing affair because of the wars of aggression. Murmur and subtlety of suspicion give rise to doubts and questioning of honesty and sincerity. The solution of these ills lies in culture and refinement, the result of which is forbearance and tolerance, the great uplifting and elevating attitude or feeling, so very indispensable for the journey of the world towards peace and harmony.

Dr. Nicholas Roerich, whose diary-leaves, poems and paintings, unique synthesis of love, beauty and truth, are scattered all over the world, is a powerful instrument in the cause of culture and civilisation. On April 15, 1935, a Pact was signed in the White House, in the presence of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, by the representatives of twenty-one Governments of North, Central and South America. This Pact was created and promulgated by Nicholas Roerich, the great Russian painter, for the protection of the treasures of human genius. It provided that educational artistic, religious and scientific institutions, as well as all sites of cultural significance, should be deemed inviolable and respected by all nations in times of war and peace alike.

The present generation, moved and dominated by materialism,

is heading towards a catastrophe of unimaginable magnitude. There is only one way-out—the way of escape and sacredness for the redemption of men. People might suggest that education and culture are the weapons of the weak for creating peace and harmony in the world. They might submit, there should be mere science to have more force in order to control the aggressive forces. All this is non-sense. We must go back to days of divine blessings of culture, education and religion. Religion in its essentials is not a signal for wars of blood, sweat and tear. If today there are differences due to religion they are there and they will remain in all their violence so long as we do not have true religion, which is one and which in its real consummation creates concord in the world. Dr. Nicholas Roerich writes : " Culture belongs to no one, man, nation or era. It is the mutual property of all mankind and the heritage of generations." These words, I trust, will be of inspiration and our march will be completed as early as possible towards peace and harmony in the world in the company of these sacred ideas. I feel like congratulating the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace Committee of New York on their wisdom to publish the Pact in the form of a book because now, in the words of Nicholas Roerich himself, which he was kind enough to write to me, ' the sign of Peace should be widely shown in Bharata (Why not World ?) and youth should hear constantly about High Culture.'

I have added, " Why not World ?" because I am definite in my mind that such a Pact, trying to perpetuate culture and art will of its own accord perpetuate peace and harmony in the world. You might ask, " How can you perpetuate peace and harmony when they are not available at the moment in the world ?" Let it be understood that springs of peace and harmony are inside us ; they need a call or stage for their appearance. That call or stage, culture can supply with the result of all-permeating peace, all over the world. " Above all confusions the Angels sing of Peace and Goodwill. No guns, no explosives can silence these choirs of heaven. And despite all the earthly wisdom, idealism, as the Teaching of Good, will still remain the quickest reaching and most renovating principle in life."

This is the thesis of Roerich. This is based on experience and desire of divine peace in the world. What is an artist for ? Is he not for creation ? Creation necessarily implies peace and harmony. There is already enough confusion or disorder. The artist tries to give this chaos an order and harmony. Order presents the thing beautifully : harmony gives it an intensity of sweetness. When

beauty and sweetness combine there is an overflow of divinity and bliss. That moment the artist wants to achieve for himself and for the world. For this Roerich is waiting. What a grand ambition? And what a grand fashion of materialising the ambition?

This is the hour for humanity to sing of Peace and Goodwill. Angels will help us. That is certain. So Nicholas Roerich sings:

> Thy benevolence fills
> My hands. In profusion it is pouring
> Through my fingers. I shall not
> Keep all. I am not able to distinguish
> The glowing streams of richness. Thy
> Benevolent wave pours through the hands
> Upon earth. I do not see who will gather
> The precious fluid. The tiny sprays,
> Upon whom will they fall? I shall not have time
> To reach home. Out of all the benevolence,
> In my tightly holding hands I shall bring only Drops.

There is profusion of benevolence, the precious fluid and its tiny sprays are to fall upon all of us. But how and when? There is the artist having drunk deep at the wells of divinity and inspiration, keen on communicating through his fingers—fingers indeed because essentially Nicholas Roerich is a painter—the blessings of peace, great peace which has to be our destiny. The artist has seen enough of life, has gone deep in his appreciation of reality and has got an excellent insight into the meaning and purpose of God, the Almighty who would have an intensity of sacredness and peace all over the world. Hence he cannot keep all for himself. Some he will keep, necessarily and naturally. That is in his nature, the human nature, which is imperfect and which cannot command adequate expression. But his attempt is revelation, followed by fulfilment. This is Roerich's attempt, quite a commonfable and inspiring attempt.

His friend, Hope, never leaves him. One may not be able to distinguish the glowing streams of richness. But that is not to be a stumbling block, difficult to remove to march towards the fulfilment of our desire for peace and harmony, as a reaction to the great alchemy of Love. God has nothing to discriminate: He is a fountain of benevolence and peace. You may have it when you choose to have it. Let there be efforts. Efforts must be unlimited. The artist himself, this great creator of peace and sacred poetry, trying

to instill God in all of us, making us immune from wars and bickerings, knows he will not have time to reach home. This home is nothing but the desired consummation of efforts for peace and harmony out of the present clouds of wars and their inseparable companions, manifested in the death of millions of people, who might have been great pillars of peace and construction in the world, surrounded by sweetness and maginificence of a high order. This home is nothing but a happy union of the divine and the human. What a great idea and what a great thing? Hence Nicholas Roerich has done well in adding " of Great Peace " to *Drops* in the last line, of the above poetic lines. I find this addition in his own copy, so kindly sent to me by the sage himself for my use and for my ever-increasing inspiration. This copy is of his first collection of poems entitled " Flame In Chalice."

I call it a great idea and I have reasons to support my submission. There is something in man that urges him on to the revelation of his self. What is this self? There is the spark of God in us and this spark expresses itself in our thoughts and deeds. This revelation of the self is a real elevation and a nearing to God. Acts are human: thoughts are human. They are performed and thought by man but they enable us to unite with Him hence we have come. This is the union of the divine and the human. And this is Roerich's idea. Why not call this idea great, why not call the thing great? Nicholas Roerich himself bodies forth his inspiration, so beautifully in these lines, coming straight and naked, unadorned by results and gifts of sophistication :

> My gift accept, O dear friend.
> Through labour and knowledge I gathered
> This gift. In order to give it
> I gathered it. I knew I would give it
> Away. On my gift thou shalt pile
> The joys of spirit. Silence and quietude.
> Amidst the revolt of spirit, direct thine eye
> Upon my gift
> And if thou wantest to command the servant
> To bring the gift,
> Name it Benevolence.

The same idea is strengthened. Remember Nicholas Roerich is a great poet-philosopher. For the moment we discuss him in this paper let us forget that he is a painter of eternal significance to the

world. This gift is the revelation he wants to make through his artistic words, bathed in love, sweetness and insight into divinity. He indicates the way also which lies through labour and knowledge. And why not through love? Perhaps he has forgotten love in his enthusiasm for labour and knowledge. There can be no knowledge and no labour without love. If such a consummation is available it will not be lasting and pleasing. It will not be divine and inspiring. Labour alone will not do. Labour married to love leads to lands of delight and comfort.

Delight and comfort will be perennial if the human mixes with the divine. On the gift of benevolence you have to pile the joys of spirit. The aim is at a synthesis. Man has to be of earth, earthly: but he cannot, at least he should not, forget that he has emanated from God and has to be divine also. This awareness of the urgent need to be divine will give him an endless inspiration, as a consequence of faith, hope and determination. The joys of *spirit* must be piled upon the gifts of earth. And then there will be silence and quietude. This silence will not be the silence of death but of rest, contentment and fulfilment, ever shining and ever sweet, surrounding the world with milk of divine joy and bliss. This silence will be the eternal silencing of the demon of materialism and human, essentially human, efforts for the fulfilment of our wordly ambition. "With the growth of tranquillity, a man becomes eager to behold the vision of God: he then delights in singing His glory and meditating upon Him more and more." This is Swami Brahmananda's wise idea. Such a tranquillity man will have after accepting the gift and enriching it with the joys of spirit. This is the Hope of Nicholas Roerich.

And so his advice :

> I am prepared for the road.
> All that was mine I renounced.
> You will take it, my friends.
> Now for the last time, I shall survey
> My house, Once more
> I shall view my possessions. Upon the images
> Of friends I shall look once more.

The first line is an indication of a firm resolve to give up all that is worldly. That is too much, and also that is not possible for all, except for a few sages like Gandhiji and Roerich in our times. He

seems to leave behind all that is his of this earth for his friends. This too is too much. Friends left behind should have some measure of divinity. Is it too much for them? Is divinity a possession of sages only? That is wrong and uncharitable. And so Roerich *thinks* and has a longing to look back again. Why? Certainly to gather something that is human along with the essence of divinity. He has done well when he sings of viewing his possessions once more because such a view *again* will make him what he is, an idealist and a realist in one, practising and preaching ideal art, which is an ideal imitation combining idealism with realism. And more it will do. Don't forget for the moment that there might be similar artists, trying to convert all simple and ordinary people of the world to their way of thinking, the way of thinking suggested by the sages, including Roerich who says :

> But once more—for the
> Last time I shall survey all that
> I left.

One more poem I refer to. This is entitled " I see around me." Nicholas Roerich, a constant researcher into the beauties of life and world, writes :

> A stranger made his dwelling
> Near our garden. Every morning
> He plays on the vina
> And sings his song. We think
> Sometimes that he repeats
> The song : but the song of the unknown one
> Is always new. And always people
> Are crowding near his gate.

Who is this stranger? Every morning he sings, seems to repeat and yet says something new, fresh in inspiration, fresher in fulfilment. Is he not a researcher? Is he not in quest of Truth? Truth is one, the eternal, the One in the Many, the One that remains, the One that is ever progressive and changing its colours to the confusion of an unsteady searcher. Cannot be he the philosopher who lives in wonder and curiosity, a spectator of all time and of all existence? The lines that follow tell their tale as clearly as possible :

> He was astonished, so it seemed, and
> Straightening his white beard, said :

"It seems to me but yesterday
I took my dwelling near you. I have not yet
Had time to tell
Of all the splendour
I see around me."

There is depth in these lines, bathed in beauty and inspiration. Vast is the world, vaster is the knowledge man has to achieve. His life is short and in spite of his ceaseless efforts to reveal all his knowledge that he has as a consequence of his share of sun and rain in the world he cannot put in words his knowledge. His keenness to express himself is revealed in his unending efforts and when he seems to repeat he is just making out something new, something precious which humanity may not allow to die out.

I may venture to state that these words of the stranger apply to Dr. Roerich himself, the great poet-philosopher. He has knowledge and is trying to communicate his store. He seems to repeat but he says ever a new thing, some sacred sign he seems to reveal :

We go to search for sacred
Signs. We go carefully and
In silence.
People pass by. They laugh.

And someday this laughter will yield to appreciation, revelation and fulfilment. This is the ambition of Nicholas Roerich. This is the future he has in view for war-weary mankind. *Have it and try for it*—he seems to exclaim.

Round the World

Maulana Azad on the Future of English in India—

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad delivered an outspoken address at the Patna University Convocation on the 21st December last. His observations on the future role of English in Indian life are worth quoting. He said :

" The position that English is occupying today in our educational and official life cannot be sustained in future. But you will create chaos and confusion in all your affairs if you suddenly displace a language which has held its own for the past 150 years.

" It is but essential that Indian languages should be given their legitimate position. But we have to decide after mature deliberation how to bring about this change. Obviously there are two courses open to us. We may either take an immediate and sudden step or we may proceed gradually measuring our way and considering the pros and cons of our steps. After having considered all aspects of the question, I have come to the conclusion that it is the second alternative alone that can suit us.

" You will naturally say that we should have a common language instead of English. But where is that language yet ? Will that language suddenly replace English ? Ample time will be required for an Indian language to develop so as to become a vehicle of thought among all the peoples of India and serve as the official language of the country.

" Howsoever wrongly the English language made its way in our life the fact remains that it has influenced our mental and educational outlook for the past 150 years. This state of affairs, though harmful in some ways, has also benefited us in many ways. We have to acknowledge it without reservation. The English language has been responsible for creating a bond of mental fellowship in all the educated Indians from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. It is a connecting link between all the Provincial Governments, universities, legislative assemblies, public platforms and national organizations. Through English, India cultivated direct intellectual relationship with Europe and America. Her voice reached the outer world without any intermediary. I do not feel the slightest hesitation in saying that India's position and recognition in the international world are greatly due to our having recourse to the English language, written and spoken.

New Danger

" We should remember that so long as the British were the rulers in India there was the danger that we might be swept away by all those influences which were the direct outcome of British rule. Now that we are

a free nation, that danger is past. But then again there is the danger of going to the other extreme. We may be against everything English. I may warn you against this other danger. If you are not on your guard it may thwart your national aspirations.

" We have yet to evolve our national life. It can be perfected only when our languages come to occupy their natural position. We should first make a well-thought-out plan and then proceed step by step.

"Man is always inclined to go to extremes in realms of thought and action. It is very seldom that he steers the middle course, and that is where he stumbles. Just as it was not proper for you to lose yourself in the slavish love of Western civilization or literature to the extent that you might forget the grand and proud civilization of your own country, similarly it would be wrong to put yourself in a cage so that no ray of the light of Western learning and civilization all enter it."

Maulana Azad warned the students against development of a sectarian out-look and subscribing to narrow nationalism. The 19th century nationalism is shattered and the world is anxious to break those shackles. The world wants to build supernationalism. Obviously, there is no room for narrow-mindedness in this modern age.

" In the advancement of a nation there is no greater hindrance than narrow-mindedness and it is their duty to keep themselves free from it. There is no other disease so dangerous for the healthy growth of national life. It makes its appearance in every field of thought and action. Like an actor it masquerades in disguises. In the domain of religion it appears in the form of blind faith and wants to deceive us in the name of orthodoxy. In politics it wants to overpower us in the guise of nationalism. In learning and culture it makes an appeal to us in the name of our nation and country."

Maulana Azad criticized those who said that India should have a complete break from outside cultures and said : " By Indian nationalism it is now meant that we should forget the English language and literature and that we should have nothing to do with Milton or Shakespeare. From certain quarters I hear that for being true nationalists we should have no tinge of modern civilization in us. This attitude is wrong. In the ineffaceable words of Mahatma Buddha, *via media* is the only tangible reality."

Dr. Mookerjee on medium of education—

While opening the All-India University Teachers Convention at Allahabad, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Minister of Industry and Supply, Government of India, made some relevant references to the question of choosing the new medium of instruction in the higher rungs of education in the country. For the last one hundred years the Universities have made large and important contributions to the unification of our social and cultural life. People turned out by the difference universities have had for the

last few generations the same inspiration, the same outlook on life and the same modes of thought. The medium of instruction being again the same, though foreign, it made it easy for them to meet together and exchange ideas and information. Not unoften teachers of one University have found wider opportunities and better facilities in another. Any sudden relegation of English to the background and the substitution of any provincial language as the medium of instruction may violently snap the bonds which were forged so diligently between the different centres of learning. Independent India will be a federated India in which the provinces will enjoy autonomy and have opportunities of developing their own separate cultures and languages. But linguistic autonomy, Dr. Mookerjee emphasised, must not imply linguistic fragmentation. If free India is to remain a unified India and not to dissolve into provincial atoms, the cultural bonds which had been forged must be not only maintained but strengthened. So long as Hindi does not sufficiently become popular in provinces where it is not spoken, there is need for maintaining a pride of place for English in the curriculum of studies. Secondly, through the medium of English, which is today an international language, we have come into direct touch with the movements of thought in the modern world. Nothing should be allowed to be done by which this window through which we now look to the wider world may be shut. On the contrary with the attainment of freedom we have been thrown into the vortex of word affairs and consequently there should be greater emphasis still on the learning of a language which has such international significance. It is our hope that the observations of Dr. Mookerjee will receive due respect from people who are responsible today for reorganising our academic life.

Educationist as Diplomat—

Dr. Tarachand, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, has been appointed Indian Ambassador to the court at Kabul. This is the first choice of a distinguished academician in an important diplomatic post. It is our hope that the experiment started in Dr. Tarachand's case will be repeated in other instances and more educationists will have chances of representing their country in foreign capitals. When the appointment of an Ambassador at Washington was first under contemplation, we had hoped that the choice might fall on some distinguished educationist who could not only explain with dignity and authority the policy of his Government to the American people but who could effectively interpret India to the innumerable colleges and universities which contribute so much to the growth of public opinion in that Commonwealth. America is again the only important country where notable educationists get a chance of being appointed in key diplomatic posts and would have accordingly appreciated the choice of some famous academician as the first Indian Ambassador to that country. As

that opportunity has been missed, we hope that when an occasion arises in the future of selecting India's representive at Washington, this fact should be borne in mind. Meanwhile we congratulate both the Government of India and Dr. Tarachand on his selection as Ambassador in Kabul.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad—

The death of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad in London was announced recently. A distinguished alumnus of Calcutta and other Universities, he filled an honoured place in the educational life of India. A Professor of Mathematics in the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, he rose to be the Principal of that famous institution and when the College was transformed into a residential University he became its Pro-Vice-Chancellor and was later at the helm of its affairs as Vice-Chancellor. He retired from this position only recently but maintained connection with the University which he helped in founding as its Rector. Besides devoting his talent and energy to the development of the Aligarh institution, Dr. Ziauddin played an important part in the wider educational and political life of India as well. He was a member of the Calcutta University Commission of which Sir Michael Sadler was the Chairman. In the U.P. Legislative Council and in the Indian Legislative Assembly he contributed a good deal to the liveliness of their debates and was respected by his colleagues as a man of information and industry. But he would be remembered in this country not so much for anything he might have done or left undone in the sphere of politics as for his solid contributions to educational development.

Kashmir Before U.N.O.—

When power was transferred by the British Government on the 15th of August last to India and Pakistan, the Indian states were at the same time liberated from the shackles of paramountcy of the British Crown and left free to join either the Dominion of India or Pakistan. This freedom was of course limited largely by geographical position but it was all the same for the states themselves to decide whether they would join this or that Dominion or remain out. Kashmir was for sometime hesitating as to what it should do. It seemed that it might remain at least for sometime to come outside either Dominion. But raiders from the tribal areas made incursions into Kashmir territory, looted Kashmir villages, killed people, abducted women and otherwise created havoc in Kashmir territories. They made Pakistan their base of operations and otherwise received ample help from the people and Government of Pakistan. The ruler of Kashmir, faced with this unexpected situation, decided in favour of acceding at once to the Indian Union and invoking its aid against the raiders. The Government of India accepted the offer of accession on condition that it was confirmed later by a plebiscite held impartially in Kashmir. The forces of the Indian Union

were then despatched with promptitude and vigour and the raiders were driven out from the areas round about Srinagar which had been threatened. But driven back from those regions the raiders made their appearance in other places and repeated their nefarious activities. Their policy now is to remain hiding in Pakistan territories and make sudden swoops upon Kashmir villages. When, however, the Indian armed forces appear in that region, they get back to their nests in Pakistan, strengthen themselves by reinforcements and become ready for new incursions into Kashmir. In view of these facts it has become clear that the raiders cannot be decisively brought to book without involving Pakistan territories in war. The evidences in the possession of the Government of India point unmistakably to the fact that the raiders are being aided and abetted in every possible manner by the Pakistan authorities. Consequently, the Government of India has decided to place the matter before the United Nations Organisation and meanwhile to push the military operations on a wider scale. Our faith in the U.N.O. has been largely shaken by its revision of the decision arrived at in 1946 as to the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Even in the face of unmistakable complicity of Pakistan in the raids on Indian territory, we do not know what decision it will ultimately arrive at in regard to the Kashmir episode. It should be remembered that it is a political body deciding issues according to the predilections of those powers which are in a majority in this organisation. In their eyes facts accomplished will have greater weight than demands of abstract justice. Much in fact will depend upon how the Indian army acquits itself in and around Kashmir during the next few days.

History of India and its Legacy—

Professor Mohammed Habib of the Aligarh University observed as follows in course of his presidential address at the tenth session of the Indian History Congress held at Bombay :

" Unless the revolution through which India has passed during the last few months succeeds in creating one State on law and one national community for the whole land, we will be faced with a period of anarchy such as India has never witnessed in the course of her long and much-troubled past.

" The breaking up of India into two separate states or law-making organisations with exclusive citizenship, which creates a spirit of hostility not only between the Governments but also between the people, and the monstrosity of the establishment of States on purely religious and communal basis have never been known to the history of our land.

" It was not to be expected that in a country so large all people would develop the same world-philosophy or agree on a uniform mode of living. So almost from the beginning of our recorded history every Indian, who had the capacity to do so, has been free to organize any sort of sect, philosophical

school, religious order or Sangh. All that is great in the history of the Hindu period is due to the achievements of the culture-groups. The free developments of these culture-groups was only possible on the basis of tolerance; religious persecution is totally alien to the spirit of our land.

" The advent of Islam made no essential difference in the general character of our country. Neither in India nor elsewhere did medieval Islam ever postulate a ' Muslim State ' as distinct from a Government by Muslim officers. All our midiaeval governments were intensely exclusive aristocratic organizations. An analysis of the Moghul and the pre-Moghul governments of Delhi will reveal the plain and sad fact that Muslims of Indian birth were rigidly excluded from the higher military and civil offices of the State.

" Neither of the two great Empires of the Middle Ages gave to the Indian Muslims the representation they have got in the present Congress regime.

" While on the one hand Akbar and all previous rulers could only give us an all-India or Imperial Government, the national movement has given us a sovereign or law-making State. On the other hand, the culture-groups have also completely altered their basic character. They have become communities seeking their material interests at the expense of other communities and the general body. And since material interests, unlike spiritual values, are believed to be hostile, so that one group can have nothing except at the expense of another, the conflict has become increasingly bitter.

" The fundamental task of the Indian State, therefore, is to create a ' National Culture Group ' or ' a National Community,' which may inherit all that is best in the culture-groups of old and set us free from the vicious interests which are seeking to dominate over lives."

Reviews and Notices of Books

Revolution and Counter-revolution in China. By M. N. Roy. Published by Renaissance Publishers, 25, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 689. Price Rs. 15.

The title of the book indirectly suggests the angle from which this interesting history of China has been written. Its value as an interpretation of the history of that country can be easily realised when it is read after what are regarded as standard books on the same subject as for instance Professor G. W. Keeton's *China, the Far East and the Future* and that other remarkable work written from the Chinese nationalist point of view, *China in Revolt* by T'ang Leang-Li. The approach is entirely different and it comes as something like a shock to the reader to realise with what precision the events which have been happening in China have followed the lines indicated in the materialistic conception of history.

The background provided in the first three chapters is a masterly analysis of those fundamentals which have been shown as subsequently responsible for the unhappy experience through which our great neighbour is passing. The broad facts of Chinese history from the days of the First Opium War down to the end of the Second World War have been presented and a very successful attempt made to show how they were the inevitable consequences of certain forces which, if checked in time, would have given a different turn to the history of China. The interpretations of the Taiping and the Boxer movements, Sun Yat Senism and of the Kuo Min Tang the true nature of which the author has held up before the world are highlights of the book as a history. Of greater importance, however, to the student is the interpretation of the history of China as an organic whole where Mr. Roy has made his special contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

But even beyond and back of these contributions to our knowledge, the social history of China from the earliest days as interpreted by Mr. Roy possesses a peculiarly abiding value and it is this which adds immensely to the worth of the work.

Valuable as an interpretation of the history of China from a particularly interesting angle, Mr. Roy has incidentally put in observations on many matters which have been gradually growing into problems with us in India. Noticeable among these are those on the political significance of strikes and the prospects of foreign capital in the two Indians and of the future of the Congress and every nationalist must fervently wish that here at least he may not turn out a true prophet.

It is a treat for an intellectual to come across such a convincing study, one reason why many who differ from the author in their political views, make it a point to study his writings all of which are characterised by one feature—a passionate love for what we would today call liberalism.

The bibliography at the end of the book gives some idea of the authorities consulted while the index facilitates consultation of the book on specific topics.

It is regrettable that a well-written and handsomely printed and bound book should be marred by a number of misprints which a little care on the part of those entrusted with seeing the book through the press could have eliminated.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

March of Events, Vols. II and III. Compiled by P. R. Lele, Violet Alva and B. R. Dhurandhar. Published by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Congress House, Bombay 4. Price Rs. 5 and Rs. 2.

While the subtitle of both these volumes is " the case of the Indian National Congress," the three collaborators, all members of the Congress party, believe that the position of this admittedly large political organisation is so strong that they have contented themselves with giving in chronological order the different resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee, the Congress Working Committee, the correspondence between its leaders and those of the Muslim League, and the agents of the British Government in India as well as its members.

The self-restraint shown by the compilers in withholding any comments on successive political incidents as they have unfolded themselves, has made these volumes exceedingly useful providing as they do the official material on which the detached student of political affairs in India can base his own independent conclusions and this, in a sense, has added to the propaganda value of the volumes from the Congress point of view.

The reviewer during his stay at New Delhi found to his surprise that many Congressmen elected to the Constituent Assembly from areas other than Bombay are not aware of the existence of these volumes. Among those comparatively few in number who know of this publication, many expressed their regret that the first volume is not available.

It is therefore suggested that this should be reprinted not only for the benefit of Congressmen but also in order that a complete record might be available for the use of the future historian of Indian politics.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Some Fundamentals of the Indian Problem. By Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya. Published by Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Bombay 2. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-12.

Here is a well-reasoned book in support of the very widely held view that India is a nation and that a common religion and a common race are

not essential factors in building up a nation. Of special interest are pages 34-40, in which the author deals with the unity of Indian life. The description of the ruin of village handicrafts and the mischiefs of alien capital are also noteworthy features of the work.

" PEREGRIN PICKLE "

Science of Psychic Phenomena. By Swami Abhedananda. Ramkrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta, 1946. Price Rs. 4.

This book is a challenge to materialists and to those who do not believe in the mind or psyche as distinct from the body. The author discusses in elaborate detail the whole range of psychic phenomena, from the powers of geniuses in the different spheres to spiritual healing. As we all know, there are such supernormal phenomena as hypnosis, telepathy, thought-reading, thought-transference, clairvoyance and clairaudience. There are also some supernormal powers of healing, such as mental healing, magnetic healing and spiritual healing. The Swamiji explains quite clearly the basis of all this and shows how these powers accrue to the *sādhaka* in the course of spiritual development. The Swamiji, however, warns us of the evil consequences of the supernormal powers. Though these powers have a glamour about them, yet attention to, and practice of, these powers are, as he points out, calculated to deflect the aspirant from the path of spiritual progress.

In Christianity much is made of the miracles Christ performed during his life-time. And Christians, generally speaking, are of opinion that miracles were peculiar to Christ. The Swamiji shows that supernormal powers were no monopoly of Jesus Christ and that many all over the world manifested more or less these powers at different times. It is definitely set forth in the *Pātanjali* System of Yoga that following some prescribed disciplines the sādhaka can attain extraordinary powers. On the other hand, there are many who seem to think that for a cure of a disease it is superstition to look beyond the science of medicine. There are, however, more things than are ever dreamt of in science and philosophy. The book is written in lucid English, and will, I am confident, dispel from us the superstitions modern science has engendered. It will enlighten ignorant minds and encourage those who believe in spiritual values.

A. C. DAS

Abirbhava. By Jogeshchandra Sarkar, B.A. Published by Rev. J. C. Sircar, B.A., 8-7-1A, Hatibagan Road, P.O. Entally, Calcutta, 1946. Price As. 12 only.

A play in Bengali on the birth of Christ. Composed in 1943 for the All India Radio, revised by friends like Girija Basu and Mr. H. K. Banerji, I.C.S., acted under the guidance of A. I. R. in 1945, recast and enlarged

and then staged in 1945 by C.Y.M.A., it is now printed and published and made available for the larger public.

It leaves a happy impression on the mind of the reader when he comes to the end of the book, for there has been a natural, easy flow of thought, image and language from the beginning. The *bodhana* or prologue is a suitable beginning for a religious play. The dialogue has not been strained. The songs have the effect of a lilt. Both the words and the measure have been happily chosen. It marks a new era in the religious literature of the Christians in Bengali—there is nothing un-Bengali in it.

Only it may be said that four acts are uncalled for here, three would have done; practically speaking, the fourth act is in the form of an epilogue which would draw the curtain with an expression of universal blessing, and salutation to Christ.

The author is to be congratulated for his successful venture.

P. R. SEN

Ourselves

Indian Economic Conference

The annual session of the Indian Economic Conference was held on 22nd, 23rd and 24th December last in the Senate Hall, on the invitation of the Calcutta University. The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. P. S. Lokanathan was the President of the Conference. His Excellency the Chancellor, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, performed the opening ceremony of the Conference and was at home at tea at the Government House to the delegates.

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Dr. A. K. Saha

The Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, London, have awarded the Science Research Scholarships for 1947 to Dr. A. K. Saha, D.Sc. of the University of Calcutta and Dr. A. K. Bhatin, Ph.D. of the University of Allahabad.

* * * *

Research Scholarship by the Indian Jute Mills Association Research Institute in Applied Physics

The Committee of the Indian Jute Mills Association Research Institute offered and the University accepted with thanks the grant of a scholarship of the value of Rs. 250 per month for research by its holder in Applied Physics in the Applied Physics Department of the Calcutta University. It was instituted in memory of the late Professor P. N. Ghose who was the head of the Applied Physics Department since its inception, and would be known as 'Ijmari' Ghose Memorial Scholarship.

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Dr. P. C. Mahanti

Dr. P. C. Mahanti of the Department of Applied Physics has been appointed Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professor of Applied Physics. The vacancy was caused by the death of Professor P. N. Ghose.

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Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. C/1735/Affl.

It is notified for general information that the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 Charuchandra College, Lake Road, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Logic, Civics, History, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping, Commercial Geography and Mathematics to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for examination in the subjects from 1949.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/1796/Affl.

It is notified for general information that ' under Sec. 22 read with sub-section (3) section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 R. H. Girls' College, Gauhati, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard and in Mental and Moral Philosophy to the B.A. (Hons.) standard with the permission to present candidates at the examinations on the subjects from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 27th November, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo. No. C/1095/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21(3) of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, Women's Christian College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Logic, History, Civics, Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates in the subjects for the examination from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 24th September, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

A letter, dated 6th September, 1947, from the Hony. General Secretary, A. I. Rawniyar Vaishya Mahasabha, Kadamkanan, Patna, which runs as follows :—

" I have the honour to inform you that this year also the Executive Committee of the All-India Rawniyar Vaishya Mahasabha, has decided to award scholarship to poor and deserving students of the community, for the year 1947-48. Please inform all the Principals of all the Colleges affiliated to your University to circulate a notice in their Colleges and also exhibit a notice on the notice board regarding this. The intending candidates should send their application through their respective District Rawniyar Vaishya Sabhas to undersigned by the 15th September, 1947.

True Copy

Senate House,
The 25th September, 1947.

L. N. PATHAK,
For Asst. Registrar.

Memo No. C/1088/Affl.

" It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, Dibrugarh College (Assam) shall be affiliated to Calcutta University in Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, Elements of Book-keeping, Bengali and Assames

(Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from the year 1949 and not earlier."

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo No. C/1130/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, P. K. College, Contai, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics to the I.Sc. standard and in Physics and Chemistry to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subjects from the year 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/679/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that Vidyasagar College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Zoology to the B.A. and B.Sc. Pass standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject from 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/1128/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, Nowgong College (Assam) shall be affiliated to Calcutta University in English, Bengali, Assamese (Vernacular), Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Mathematics to the I.Sc. standard and in Arabic Commercial Geography and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates in the subjects for the examination from 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo No. C/1253/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that Victoria College, Comilla, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Commercial Arithmetic, Elements of Book-keeping, Commercial Geography and in a special paper of the History of Hindu Colonial expansion and a special period of the History of Islam out-side India in History group to the I.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject from 1949 and not earlier.

2. It is understood that the University have satisfied themselves that the college have agreed to fulfil the conditions laid down in the report of the Inspector of Colleges.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo No. C/1486/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 Jagannath Barooah College, Jorhat, (Assam), shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Assamese (Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard, with permission to present candidates in the subject at the examination from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 18th November, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1947

AFFINITIES OF NABIN SEN WITH BYRON, ROUSSEAU AND HUGO

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Madhusudan (1824-73), Bihari Chakravarti (1835-94), Hem Banerji (1838-1903), Nabin Sen (1847-1909), Rabi Tagore (1861-1941) and Dwijen Roy (1863-1913) were profoundly influenced by Byron (1788-1824) each in his own way.* Byronic fervour, enthusiasm and wildness were the common spiritual heritage of all romanticists in Bengal as in France, Germany and Italy. But Bengali poets do not appear to have addressed any verse to this great Napoleon of world-thought.

In *Ebar* (This Time) of *Avakasha-ranjini* (Leisure-Entertainer) Vol. II (1877) Nabin has a slight reference to Byron. He says that Vidyapati and Chandidas, both lyric poets of medieval Bengal, famous in Vaishnava tradition, *byronic tarangete bhasiya beray* (are floating away in the waves of Byron). The lyrical flow of Byron's verses is thus described as a powerful literary force in Bengal.

In *Pravaser Patra* (Letters from Abroad, 1892) we find that like many other Indians Nabin also while watching from Malabar Hill the town of Bombay on the sea is recalling Byron's lines to the mountains and the sea of Athens. And he writes :

" There standing lonesome I saw in dream,—
Ind's sun of happiness will come back sure.

* The Byronism of Madhu, Bihari, Hem, and Nabin has been dealt with in Haren Dasgupta : *Western Influence on Nineteenth Century Bengali Poetry* (1857-87, Calcutta, 1935), xvi, xxxvii, 35-42, 71, 77, 95-96, 110-112, 115. See W. Dick : *Byron and His Poetry* (London).

Byron's dream has been fulfilled. Greece's days of happiness have come back. Is my dream also to be realized?"

Byronic Melancholy

In *L'Homme* (Man), one of the poems in *Premières Meditations* (1822) Lamartine (1790-1869) addresses Byron as "king of immortal songs," and wants him to recognize himself. Byron has functioned, says Lamartine, as the "poet of savage harmony and like Satan," as the "singer of evil to man." According to Byron, as Lamartine thinks, man is doomed to his place by God, and it is the destiny of man to glorify his own servility to God. This Byronic view of man is too pessimistic and Lamartine wants his great hero to come to shed light instead of gloom.

There is a poem entitled *Lettre à Lamartine* (1837) in which Musset (1810-87) has some references to Byron. "Do you remember the time," Musset asks Lamartine, "when in 1819 you wrote verses to Byron, the prince of the proscribed?" "You were then young," says he, "our dear glory, you did not yet know him. Which eagle carried you to this god? *Lara*, *Manfred* and *Corsaire* raised you from the ground and you were carried to him by his griefs. You considered him to be your friend, however great he might have appeared to you."

Musset says that Byron's "savage concerts were being heard by Europe trembling." "Melancholy's grand devotee, he was tired of envy and satiated with human grandeur."

The sadness of Byron's *Thyrza* poems may be taken to be the general atmosphere of Nabin Sen's two volumes of lyrics entitled *Avakasha-ranjini* (Leisure-Entertainer, 1871, 1877). The anguish and grief of Lamartine and Musset as lovers are Nabin's own. His *Sakher Golap* (Rose of Fancy, 1877, in *Avakasha-ranjini*, Vol. II is the picture of past happiness in the background of present misery. He laments (st. 6):

"This flower was the root of my life;
Cool water of union
I used ever to pour;
And mind danced in the breeze of breath.
With joy in the sway of love
And seated in soft blossoms
I drank nectar happy without cease.
How has that flower of mine become rootless now?"

Because of his flow and imagination Sen is more like Shelley and Musset rather than Lamartine, who, however, is as natural and spontaneous as all the three. It is interesting to note that the memory of happiness is an important item in Sen as in Byron, Lamartine and Musset.

In Nabin Sen love is like the sea. The surgings of the one are as inexplicable as those of the other, says he in *Kena bhalabashi* (Why do I love? 1877 in *Avakasha-ranjini* Vol. II). These are his questionings (st. 1):

" What to reply? Why do I love?
Today like the sea
Is alas my love.
Why has the sea swollen, this vast water?
Who will say? who can say why I love?"

The questions about the nature of love are asked by the poet never to be answered, because they cannot be answered. Again (st. 2),

" Endless, bottomless is sea! Sinking into water
How, pray, can I tell you,
From where has flown
The little crystal stream which ends,
Today, dearest, in this ocean of love?"

The source of love, then, is likewise inexplicable.

Love is also like a tree whose roots Sen cannot trace. He writes (st. 3):

" The tree's shade holds in monopoly my heart,
How can I pierce my soul, beloved,
And exhibit the spot where lie its seeds?
Why do I love, alas? How to explain?"

Sen calls up quite distinct and expressive images in order to describe the indistinct and vague feelings associated with love.

There is no end to his questions about the cause of love. His eagerness to find an answer is emotionally profound. And like the first cause of the universe, the first cause of love also remains a mystery. He is not analyzing love in the manner of the psychologist or the metaphysician. The questionings and imageries flow in rapid succession as the reactions of a soul over head and ears in love. The

wealth of analogies reminds one of Lamartine's moonlight in *Le Soir* (Evening) or Shelley's *Skylark*.

Love is then compared to forest-fire which works havoc with its wildness. The night is cited as witness, as follows (st. 7):

"Why do I love? O night decked with the moon,
You saw how for the first time
This heart, a simple forest,
Was gladly sparkling in that beauty's rays,
And how wild fire entered the flower grove."

The poet is precise enough to indicate that beauty's rays set fire to the soul. The bemooned night has seen that beauty. The poet says to the night (st. 11):

"You have seen that coiffure dressed-up;
The crowned hair-form was
An image of love's self,
Hanging to heels the long tresses of hair
You have seen; then, say, why do I love?"

In these lines we have something like the sensuousness of Elizabethan poets or the French sonneteers of the Renaissance, *e.g.*, Ronsard.

Physical beauty is not the sole whetter of love. Nabin Sen finds inspiration in the glance of the eye also which obviously is more than mere sense. He asks the night again (st. 13):

"On this heart, O moon, awake or a sleep,
The glance that charmed the soul
Conferred ambrosia;
Oh it was spark of coolness and kindness.
Why I love, night, have you understood all?"

The poet then changes the form of questions. Instead of trying to understand the why or whence or what of love he enquires if the beloved herself ever asked a question like this. Says he (st. 14):

"Life, youth, hope, fame, wealth and honour,
All these I spurned like grass;
And mad, as it were,
I approached her, alas, to know her mind;
Did she ever question why I love her?"

Love is madness itself in this poet's experience. No question

about the reason for it can arise, believes he, even in the beloved's mind. A madness of this sort is suggested by Musset in his *Lettre à Lamartine* while complaining against the desertion by his lady-love. The melancholy of Sen is more or less of the same dye as that of Musset.

The intensity and wildness of love are portrayed in the following verse (st. 15) :

" You are my letter, my picture, my all !
In every syllable,
In every line drawn
How much have I asked, and oh, how much cried !
Why do I love, alas, why don't you say ?"

The undefinable and mystical nature of love is harped upon in a new language while closing the poem. This also is another question as follows (st. 16) :

" Why I love, beloved, how can I tell ?
Where am I, where art thou ?
This desert in-between,
A heartless world,—so how canst thou hear well
What can be answered but from heart to heart ?"

The last question is however not negative in import. It carries a positive answer.

In Nabin Sen there is no moralizing restraint of the French classic movement. Nor does he practise the artistic restraint of symbolists like Verlaine. Like all romanticists he is expressiveness itself,—abandon, copiousness, plenitude. And his love is the well of Byronic melancholy and sad souvenirs. He might cry like Browning :

" How sad and bad and mad it was :
But it was so sweet."

Fits of Musset's soul-extinguishing despondency do not attack him, however, although there is some temperamental affinity between the two. Sen did not have the experience of Musset who says in *Souvenir* (1841) that his " only beloved was turned into a living tomb." He is not all " sobs and tears." The *Weltschmerz* of Goethe's Werther which generated streams of sentimentality in English and French literature did not affect Sen profoundly.

There are, however, milder forms of Wertherism. And Sen's melancholy furnishes us with several expressions as in *Chattagramer Saubhagya*

(The Good Luck of Chittagong, 1871, in *Avakasha-ranjini*, Vol. I). While exulting over the successes of local intellectuals the poet is pessimistic enough to paint the other side of the shield.

Rousseauesque Primitivism and Nature-Worship

Sen is an admirer of unconventional life. In *Avakasha-ranjini*, Vol. II (1877) there is a poem entitled *Jumiya-Jivan* (The Life of Jumiyas). He describes this primitive Mug tribe—of the Indo-Burmese somatic type—in its natural hill-surroundings and its simple arts and crafts. And he is happy that (st. 19) :

" Before their eyes the light of knowledge pure
Has not raised bad ambition's mirage high."

He asks (st. 23) :

" Who would want civilisation
If to be uncivilised is such joy ?"

and therefore (st. 24) :

" I wish I could with this Jumiya folk
Exchange entire my Bengali life and thought."

This *swarga-sukh* (happiness of heaven) in the Jumiya " state of nature " is a chip from Rousseau.

In Canto V (In the Temple of Rangamati) of *Rangamati* (1880) also the heroine Kusumika is an embodiment of Rousseau's state of nature. She says (Lines 300-311) :

" What shall I do with wealth ? The forest is
Nature's endless store. See how many gems
Grow, blossom and fall away in forest."

And, again (line 322),

" Man's happiness alone depends on wealth."

Nabin thus pays homage to Wordsworthian " Nature's holy plan " and finds " reason to lament what man has made of man." Be it noted that the social atmosphere of *Rangamati* is primitive, tribal, Jumiya.

The heterogeneous and disjointed experiences of Birendra, the hero of Nabin's *Rangamati*, are comparable to those of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister. Birendra, however, is not a play-wright like the German hero but a Bengali patriot. In any case the sorrows of Birendra are the sorrows of Werther. Only, they are not as misanthropic and

pessimistic as those of the European prototype of world-melancholy. Altogether, the Rousseauism of Nabin is quite manifest in his creation, Birendra, who may be said to have been educated in accordance with the pedagogic theory as adumbrated by Rousseau (1712-78) in *Emile* (1762). Most probably Nabin's prototype for Birendra was the Childe Harold of Byron.

In a sense entire *Avakasha-ranjini* is Rousseauesque in its exhibition of the diverse aspects and moods of Nature. There is hardly a piece among these sixty-five poems,—mostly of relatively large size,—in which mountains or rivers, the sea or its waves, the moon or the night's darkness, and clouds or forests do not play a conspicuous part. Neither in *Avakasha-ranjini*, nor in *Rangamati* does Nabin treat Nature as the mere background for man but has interest in it as an independent entity. His trees and rivers are detailed, objective, precise as in Vidyapati, Chandidas, and other Vaishnava poets. He is rather different from Shelley or Tagore who as a rule humanizes or spiritualizes Nature. The words, phrases, lines or stanzas that he has devoted to Nature are meant to bring out its features in and for themselves, Lamartine's *Lac* (Lake), *Isolement* (Isolation), *Soir* (Evening), *Hymne du Matin* (Morning Hymn) and Hugo's numerous nature poems, *e.g.*, in the Book entitled *L'Ame en Flour* (The Soul in Blossom) of *Contemplations* possess the same objectivity and independence as the works of Sen. There is a plethora of objective Nature-studies in every canto of his trilogy, *Raivataka-Kurukshetra-Prabhas* in which Krishna is exhibited as the social servant of Comtist positivism, or holds forth somewhat like Arthur of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

Nabin is a poet of fresh air and open atmosphere. The world in which he lives, moves and has his being is incomplete without rivers, forests, sea, clouds, tempests, moon and stars. And yet practically the whole of *Avakasha-ranjini* and *Rangamati* to a considerable extent as well as the Krishna trilogy just referred to deal with man and his passions and sentiments. There is altogether no attempt at mysticism in his imagination. His subjectivity does not go beyond a mild personification of clouds or waves. He avoids imparting a soul to Nature except what can be suggested automatically by the intensity of emotions and expressiveness of imageries. As the poetry of nature worship, *Avakasha-ranjini*, like the other works, is plentiful and profuse as well as sincere and soulful. But it is thoroughly positive and realistic.

Hugo's Social Consciousness

Social consciousness is a conspicuous ingredient in Sen's *Avakasharanjini* as in Hugo's *Contemplations* (Book III, *Les Luttes et les Rêves* Conflicts and Dreams, 1854).

In the midst of Byronic pessimism and despair such as inspires an attempt at suicide his *Pitrihin Juvak* (Fatherless Youth, 1871) Sen suddenly realizes that both "happiness and misery are like the dreams of night." "When was happiness eternal? When again, misery?" He asks and observes :

"There was dark night a minute just ago,
And now already the earth is laughing bright." (St. 78)
"Why then like coward shall I forsake life
And sacrifice all pity, work and worth?" (St. 83)

So his final decision is as follows :

"Why fear? Gone's happiness :
But back it is to come.
What anxiety? Grief rules.
But it will not remain." (St. 84)

And, again,

"Is there no arm of patience in heart's store?
Alone will I fight and not give up war.
Shall see what cruel fortune can achieve,—
Fastening my mind's resolve to hard rock
And going home with solemn vow and firm :
Accomplish life's goal or let body fall." (St. 85)

Creative energism thus looms large in the *milieu* of Nabin's melancholy.

In the lyric entitled *Chattagramer Saubhagya* (The Good Luck of Chittagong, 1871) already referred to Sen's social consciousness reminds us of the sorrows of Bengal. He says :

"Don't overlook to survey once this time
How is the miserable motherland's state." (St. 21)

Some of the miseries are exhibited below :

"Just see over here hundreds of sisters
Pale without love like dry golden creepers,
Husbandless in penury shedding tears.
Seeing their tears and hearing their despairs
Whose is the stony heart that will not break?" (St. 22)

Another social misery is as follows :

" Hundreds of newly born and tender babes ;
With stone-bound hearts the widow mothers poor
Renounce kindness, duty, maternal love
In public scaldal's well, how merciless !
And kill unfortunate infants with ease." (St. 23)

Alcoholism is another social scourge to which Sen refers. Still another social evil referred to is the marriage of girls with unfit youths on account of the prevalence of the dowery system. He mentions poverty also as a wild forest fire which burns to ashes the hopes of mothers and prevents them from rearing the children in a decent manner.

We recall here Hugo's poems like *Melancholia* and *La Chuette* (The Owl) in which poverty, misery, vice, immorality, crime and so forth are exhibited in their naked features. The miseries of the poor widow and the sufferings of the orphans, as described by the French romanticist in *Choses Vues* are some of the constant themes in Nabin's lyrics.

Avakasha-ranjini and Les Contemplations

Some other pieces of *Avakasha-ranjini* may also be analysed here. The social emotions exhibited in these two volumes of encyclopaedie lyricism would remind one of the corresponding socio-literary encyclopaedia in French, *Les Contemplations* (1854) of Hugo (1802-85). *Arya-darshana* (The Philosophy of the Aryas) is a poem which exhibits Nabin's regret and ire at India's modern and contemporary miseries. He recalls with grief that the country which is at present the land of cowardice, famine, begging, slavery and tears was once the land of heroes, whose " prowess was forest fire, as it were," the land of plenty, prosperity and joy. The sufferings of Bengal and the Bengali people are described in *Ananta Dukkha* (Eternal Grief). The death of Dinabandhu (1830-73) is utilized in this poem as an occasion for offering encomium to him as the friend of the peasants of Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar as well as the Kachharis and Kukis of Assam.

His *Ke tumi* ? (who are you ?) is an intensely pathetic and yet equally artistic pen-picture of the Bengali widow in her spiritual solitude.

The defects and shortcomings of Bengali character have been exhibited in *Avakasha-ranjini* in many contexts. These together

with exhortations and manifestoes to Young Bengal, constitute a perpetual *Leitmotif*, so to say, of Nabin's creative emotions. He condemns the absence of free love or of self-choice by men and women as he condemns disunity and many other evils of Bengali society. And yet no body has consecrated nobler verses to Bengali women than he, for instance, in *Ek Din* (One day). His *dukkhi bangabashider ramani-i mani* (Of sad Bengalis women is the gem) has been the sweetener of life to legion of clerks and lower middle class people. He reminds us of Hem Banerji's *banga-nari-pushpa vina madhu kotha kusume* ? (where's honey in flowers outside flowers of Bengali women ?) Nabin is the poet not only of Bengal's shame and sorrow. He is the mouthpiece also of her joys and hopes.

An interesting item in Nabin's patriotic ideology is his enthusiasm for France. The poem, *Chinhita Suhrid* (Covenanted Friend), deals with the travels, activities and feelings of a Bengali " old boy " in Europe. One of Nabin's questions to this chum on his return is as follows (St. 11).

" Tell me, O comrade, if you have seen there
Low-fallen in the last revolution
World-glory France, the land of heroes brave ?
At Sedan, the tomb of French glory old,
While standing in grief and with grief o'erwhelm'd
Did you not shed at France's destiny
With Bengali eyes a drop of warm tear ?"

Many of the stanzas in this poem as in the others of *Avakasha-ranjini* breathe fiery patriotism and furnish Young India with burning love of freedom.

Amar Sangit (My Song) is one of Nabin's patriotic manifestoes. From housetops he may be said to be crying (St. 11) :

" With heaps of ashes is Ind filled today,
Who would care my song of heroes to hear ?
What is there in Ind that poets will sing
To pour ambrosia in ashes cold ?"

He would rather forsake this land of ashes and take his seat on the shores of the ocean or in the caves of the Himalayas. And from there he would sing his songs (Sts. 13, 15) :

" On hearing these songs will the lifeless trees
Start dancing in groups with flourishing arms ;

Rocks will awake, and masses of clouds roar :
And forest-fires will burst into wild flames,
And echoes will sing in furious shocks
And the sea far off will respond in wrath."

* * *

" And clouds will burst and lightnings flaming run,—
Sharp arrows of fire piercing the sky !
The ocean will go mad ; and waves will move,"
Varuna's weapons all in hundreds fierce."

La Partie du Crime and Shava-sadhan

The poet's social energism envisages that joy of war activity in his romantic lyrics. *Avakasha-ranjini* is the poetry of disappointments, failures, resignations, etc. in love. It is likewise the poetry of direct and intimate daily contacts with nature and personal relations with trees, rivers, sea, storm, clouds, and waves. In and through all these there emerges a third poetry in this volume. It is the poetry of freedom, nationalism, love of fatherland, woman's rights, war against social evils. We come back to it again as the peer of Hugo's *Contemplations* (1854).

Be it observed here *en passant* that the social enthusiasm of Nabin finds a more systematic expression in his *Palashir Juddha* (1875), the narrative poem on the battle of Plassey as well as in the Krishna trilogy entitled *Raivataka* (1886), *Kurukshetra* (1893), and *Prabhas* (1896) in which we may contact to a certain extent the epochal or stage by stage treatment of human progress as in Hugo's *Légendes des Siècles* (The Stories of the Centuries, 1859-76). The affinity of Sen's social ideals in the three Krishna " epics " with the humanitarianism of Hugo's *Légendes* is obvious and palpable.

Nabin Sen did not, as we see, deal with the *adi* (prime) or *shringara* (erotic) *rasa*[1] (sentiment, flavour or taste) alone. His lyrics gave expression to many other *rasas* as well. He is generally known as the poet of the Krishna-legends. In that capacity he was an exponent of the sympathetic and *bhakti* or devotional emotions with which Vaishnava poetry is associated. But it is interesting that exactly opposite *rasas*, *e.g.*, the terrible, the violent (*bhayankara*),

[1] Subodh Mukherji : *Les Rasas* (Paris).

the devilish and the hideous (*vibhatsa*) sentiments have found strong expression in some of the poems of *Avakasha-ranjini*. His *Shava-sadhan* (Meditating on the Corpse, 1877) is an embodiment of romanticism in its brutal, cruel, murderous and roguish aspects. It out-Hugoes Hugo in its anti-*statusquo* (anti-imperialist) fervour as prominent in *Les Contemplations* (1854).

In *Ultima-Verba* (1853) Hugo's wrath against "this rascal" (Napoleon III) finds expression as follows: "The priests cause honest men to tremble. Caesar reigns supported by priests and blessed by the Pope." "I shall dare Sulla," says he, "even if I am one of a hundred only. If there be just one to oppose him I shall be that one."

The *bhayankara* (terrifying) and *vibhatsa* (hideous) emotions of Nabin Sen may be seen in the poem as reproduced below:

Shava-sadhan

(Meditating on the Corpse)

Is the fire out? It is not extinguished.
Who will extinguish it,—how can it be out?
Seven hundred years it is burning like this,
How many hundred years it will burn who knows?
Wherever I turn,—this great fire is seen:
Where is India?—endless crematorium:
Crematorium, crematorium, crematorium alone!
The funeral pyre of Ravan, as large as Lanka.[2]
If you can't put this fire out, then sit down
On the corpses of two hundred millions,
Drink the great wine of wild enthusiasm
And plan the ways and means in fearless heart.
In deepest darkness of black fortnight's end
Is India enshrouded and speechless now,
Crematorium's fire rages fierce,
And wind blows cries and shouts of destruction.

What to fear? Again to your heart's content
Drink deep of enthusiasm's wine profound,

[2] Ravana, the ruler of Lanka (Ceylon), was overpowered by Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*. His death involved calamity to the length and breadth of Lanka. India's disaster to-day is considered by the poet to be as great.

Then clapping your hands and closing your eyes
Meditate on prime strength in hero's posture.
Death-faced, garlanded with human skulls
With lusty licking tongue and lips red in blood,
Rise, O Mother, in crematorium,
Thou, Crematorium's denizen divine [3]

In all houses and crematoriums
On the great Bishu day, lo, that prime force
Is dancing artfully dagger-armed,
And devotees proclaim "No fear, No fear."

In the deep darkness of profound midnight
The Terrible dances in clouds of smoke,
Flame flows aloud from out of her third eye,—
Great Kali, ferocious figure, sky-clad.

Children of Ind, don't you see the Mother
Dry at lapping tongue, dry at source of blood,
Don't you see she has stretched out her left hand,
And without cease begs for blood fresh and hot?
Has Ind no devotee of *virachara* (hero's mould)
That would boldly cut open his proper breast,
Relieve the Mother's thirst and thus adore
Strength seated in her cremation ground?

Nabin Sen, normally perhaps a *Vaishnava*,[4] is here functioning as a *Shakta* or Tantrist, worshiper of Shakti (Strength). The exponent of *ahimsa* (non-violence) has changed his role into that of violence such as finds apt comparison with that of Hugo in *Contemplations*.

Hugo in *La Partie du Crime* (Project of Crime, 1852) condemns Napoleon III as the upstart who has made a horrible whatnot of dead bodies. He wants activities of *virachara* (hero's pose), so to say. His manifesto, then, is thus worded: "Countrymen, arise to arm, the day has reappeared. We the assassinated are bandits. We

[3] Among the worshippers of Goddess Kali, there is a sect which specializes in offering her adorations in this dreadful form. The *locale* chosen is the crematorium. Devotees help themselves to plentiful liquor. Time set is of course the last midnight of the dark fortnight. It is to avert terrible calamities that such adorations are practised.

[4] Bankim Sen: "Vaishanava Kavi Nabinchandra" (Nabin the Vaishana Poet) in Jatin Chaudhuri: *Nabinchandra Janma-shatavarshik-Smriti-tarpana* (Calcutta, 1947).

want civil wars. He has compelled 89 to go backwards. Our will is war. You for oppression, we for liberty. Frenchmen, take the sword in one hand and the law in the other. We declare that sacrifice is all and suffering is nothing. We are ready to give our life when God gives the signal." It is the revolution-planning of Hugo's *Project of Crime* that furnishes the ideology of Nabin Sen's *Shava-sadhan.*

Evidently none of the verses of Hugo against Napoleon III can go beyond these bitter cries of Nabin Sen against the miseries of the regime envisaged by him. Sen's imageries are of course all taken from the old Sanskritic tradition. They might have furnished inspiration to some of the poems (*Djinns*) in Hugo's *Les Orientales* (1829).

HOW MILTON AND POPE LOOK AT LEARNING

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IN one of our universities there is an old professor of English. His name is Mr. X. He is regarded as an ocean of learning because he is not able to answer a single question, put to him by his students Yet people say—he is learned. In other words learning stands for confusion. Exactly a similar idea is struck by Chesterton is his ORTHODOXY, where he maintains that a university don is able to talk nonesnse in a polished fashion, whereas a rustic, having a definite fountain of learning, is not in a position to impress his associates because of his roughness. There seems to be present in what Chesterton has said a certain difference. I say " Seems " ; for to my mind the thing is the same. Take the case of a university don, or a university professor. He knows many things : perhaps, all learning, like Francis Bacon, is his province. But when he comes face to face with positive situations in life he is, in the words of William Hazlitt, *put out.* Definitely here is a case of a confused man, who cannot apply his learning to actual life and its situations, which call for on our part more than what is contained in books. Has not Bacon said : " ....for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study ; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience." This is a definite statement of balancing of studies and experience. How knowledge can be applied to life is something precious, which can be obtained as a consequence of actual experience. And so people, lost in books, whose endless companions are books are never successful in life. They are, I repeat, *put out.*

This is not a new idea. John Milton has these lines :

> Who reads
> Incessantly, and to his reading bring not
> A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
> Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
> Deep versed in books, and shallow in himself.

These lines are a statement of a positive truth. There is no going back. John Milton was a very widely read poet. Mark Pattison said, approvingly, 'that an appreciation of Milton is the last reward of consummated scholarship.' In illustration of the idea of his learning I prefer to give the following passage from Mark Pattison:

'If Milton's genius did not announce itself in his paraphrases of Psalms, it did in his impetuosity in learning, "which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age, I scarce ever went to bed before midnight." Such is his own account. And it is worth notice that we have here an incidental test of the trustworthiness of Aubrey's reminiscences. Aubrey's words are, "When he was very young he studied very hard, and sate up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night; and his father ordered the maid to sit up for him."

This the account given by Mark Pattison, supported by Aubrey's reminiscences. Now read this from Milton himself.

'There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought..... When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of Parliament against an order of licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest qoaestorship had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuations, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon learning.'

I may be excused for this long quotation from Milton. But I cannot help it. Everybody knows that Milton is capable of grandeur in his prose as well as in poetry. And what is his grandeur? Nothing but long sentences, full to the brim with learning and confused thought. So there are two reasons for this long quotation. One is the length of sentences in Milton. The other, and that is really the main reason, is that my desire is to express how learning at times is limited to long sentences. As one reads this passage one gets a shock to one's learning and powers of understanding and appreciation. This is more so

because of Mark Pattison's idea that an appreciation of Milton is the reward of consummated scholarship.

In this passage, *taken from Areopagitica*, Milton makes a passionate appeal for freedom in writing and publishing books. One thing is clear. He wants reading, reading without a check or halt. And so he says—" Read incessantly." But there he does not stop. He wants, along with reading, a spirit and judgment equal or superior so that one need not be uncertain and usettled. In other words he wants men of letters to be successful in life. What is learning if it is not brought in line with practical experience in life. Else book-learning will make you bookish. There the thing will end. All heights of splendour of achievement will remain unassailed, and there would be no journey onwards so far as the story of civilisation is concerned. What is history? In the words of Rabindranath Tagore " It is nothing but the record of man's struggle against difficulties". Man cannot successfully face difficulties if he has not supplemented his book-learning by actual experience. The ocean of happiness and comforts is round us but we are not able to take a plunge into it because of our limitations, because of our faliure to react well to new situations in life. And so Milton wants to be *quite deep in himself*. Here I have just said in my own fashion what has been said by Milton. " Deep versed in books and shallow in himself". Here the emphasis is on " Self knowledge". Great sages have said, and I think rightly, that greatest knowledge is to know one's self. This knowledge is our possession if we are able to apply our ideas to life. All knowledge to be of use must be applied knowledge.

To quoet again from Milton :

' Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright and to examine each matter,.....Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably ; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds, which were imposed on psyche as an incessant labour to cull out and sort asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evil as two twins cleaving together leaped forth into the world.'

All along Milton is making one point. Read, read diligently, but there must be equal discrimination. Naturally he would like learned

people to be free and unaffected, a thing which he himself was not destined to achieve. Bluntly, and without fear of contradiction I say, he is all very confusing. Nevertheless, he says the thing, which must be lived up to, if the end is success and joy. Learning, at no stage, should be a burden, placed on the back of a mule. If I were allowed a certain latitude I would like learning to be an open sesame, which you possess all right, and which others, if they so choose, of course with your consent, may be able to share.

I have almost completed my idea. But one thing remains. That is Pope's idea. His famous lines read :

> " A little learning is a dangerous thing ;
> Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring :
> There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
> And drinking largely sobers us again."

Alexander Pope has struck a different note. To all appearance he says " Yes " to Milton. But no : that is not the thing. True, he wants people to learn deep, widely ; but nowhere he thinks of discrimination, so forcefully said by Milton. As a product of his age which stood for reason, he is thinking in terms of control of emotions. " Drinking largely sobers us." Emotions are to be subdued. He is talking like a philosopher. Mark these words of Sir S. Radhakrishnan :

" The modern emphasis on the pleasures of the flesh is wrong. An action that proceeds from the springs of emotion without passing through the discipline of reason is a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute."

This is Pope's idea, too. There need not be intoxication, born of shallowness, and so he advocates more and more of reading. But nowhere he thinks of a definite discipline. I may be pardoned to say that he recomends a bookish atmosphere. There is no mention of experience or of practical application. Pope is thinking as a man of books. His one aim is that learning should not make us haughty. That is desirable. More and more of learning will make us increasingly aware of a vaster and vaster ocean of ignorance. Is it said of Socrates or Aristotle that he was the wisest man of the time because he was aware of his utmost ignorance ? Real and wide learning brings us face to face with our own ignorance, and so we are meek, humble and submissive. In the Bible it is said that it

is possible for a camel to enter the eye of a needle; but is not possible for a man of wealth to enter the kingdom of heaven. I say, with a certain alteration, that only humble and submissive people can enter the kingdom of learning. This thing Pope wants. That is well and good. But that will not make the learned practical minded.

But as I close I feel one thing. That is strange, indeed. To my mind Milton is not so practical as Pope in spite of his polish and sophistication. Milton, in his books, has always the air of books, which Pope has not. There is one thing about Pope. He seems to be artificial in his outlook. Of course, this cannot be said of Milton.

To illustrate my point I refer two poems, *The Rape of the Lock* and *Lycidas* by Pope and Milton respectively. These lines occur in *The Rape* :

> " Her lively looks a sprightly mind disclose,
> Quick as her eyes, and as unfixed as those.
> Favours to none, to all she smiles extends;
> Oft she rejects, but never once offends.
> Bright as the sun, her eyes the gazers strike,
> And, like the sun, they shine on all like.
> Yet graceful ease, and sweetness void of pride,
> Might hide her faults, if belles had faults to hide;
> If to her share some female errors fall,
> Look on her face, and you'll forget 'em all."

These are lines of infinite beauty and meaning. One can certainly say they refer to a sophisticated society, and that there is a definite reference to artificiality and affectation, shunned by all spiritual people. In fact one goes to the extent of saying that Pope delights in describing details of looks and beauty, which an inexperienced hand might not indulge in. But I have no hesitation in saying that altogether the lines are quite natural the moment it is conceded that Pope lived in age of artificiality. And now realise the grandeur in thought and delinieation.

Place beside these lines this passage from Milton, taken from his *Lycidas* :

> " But, oh: the heavy change, now thou art gone,
> Now thou art gone and never must return:
> Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
> With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,

And all their echoes, mourn.
The willows, and the hazel copses green,
Shall now no more be seen
Fanning their joyous leaves to thy soft lays.

These are lines of detailed imagery. But they lack emotion; they lack sincerity. I understand Milton is writing in a pastoral fashion. But does that mean that he should be altogether devoid of sincerity or emotion? I think Milton has written these lines as a man, who is under the influence of classical writers. Such a thing gives an air of artificiality to Milton's compositions.

WHITEHEAD'S CONCEPTION OF GOD

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DR. A. N. WHITEHEAD is one of the foremost thinkers of the present day. He combines in himself utmost scientific precesion with deep philosophic penetration. There are not only occasional flahes of penetrative insight interspersed in his numerous writings, but his whole philosophy is a close-knit self-coherent structure inspired by a " synoptic vision," and the vivid flashes are the revealing sparks fulgurating from that vision.

We have no mind to enter here into all the subtle and intricate points in Whitehead's philosophy. All that we propose to do in this paper is to see how the great scientist-philosopher conceives of God, and what position God occupies in his philosophical system. In developing his conception of God Whitehead has freely drawn from moral, aesthetic and religious experiences with that " fidelity to fact " which is characteristic of the true scientific outlook. He has approached those dominant experiences of mankind not with any scientific bias or prepossession, not with a view to pulling them down to the dead level of any scientific concept, but with that openness of mind which is the soul of genuine speculative adventure.

The most noteworthy feature of Whitehead's conception of God is that he does not bring in God as a *Deus ex machina* in order to get out of any logical impasse. God is with him neither an after-thought, nor a cloak for intellectual bankruptcy. He does not betake himself to God as the supreme Saviour who can dissolve all practical difficulties and logical contradictions by the magic wand of his divine omnipotence. God is for him a necessary factor in the metaphysical character of the universe. He is organic to the actual world. He is at once a necessity of thought and a necessity of reality. He is the key to the interpretation of moral, religious and aesthetic experiences.

What are the fundamental characteristics of the actual world? First, the actual world is in the nature of a perpetual creative flow, a " passage of events," an unceasing creative advance into novelty.

The flux of existence is a continual upspringing of ever novel forms. Whitehead, therefore, maintains that the ultimate category of philosophy must be the principle of Creativity. It is in virtue of this principle of Creativity that Nature is characterised by a perpetual advance into novelty. Creativity is a boundless possibility of creation, it is *purus actus*. Secondly, the passage of events has a definite character, and is not a featureless indeterminacy. The actual world is not only a process and a creative flow, but also a scene of determinate sensible and intelligible occurrences. This determinate character of the concrete world-process presupposes, according to Whitehaed, an infinite realm of eternal objects, a boundless wealth of abstract possibilities or timeless forms. These eternal objects are conceived by Whitehead much after the fashion of Plato who believed in Ideas as archetypal models or patterns of existence. It is due to the " ingression " of eternal objects into the actual occasions of the temporal flux that the latter assume a determinate character, a sensible and intelligible nature.

But is it sufficient to postulate a principle of Creativity and a realm of eternal objects for a full comprehension of the actual temporal world ? Since Creativity is a boundless possibility of creation, we can imagine no determinate order of creation, no definite course of events, without a limitation upon its infinite potentiality. Then again, since the realm of eternal objects, is a boundless wealth of abstract possibilities, there can be no definite course of creation without a specific ordering of these eternal objects, without an adjustment of valuation or an arrangement of timeless forms in accordance with their varying degrees of relevance to a particular new creation. God is conceived as the principle of limitation of infinite possibility. He is the principle of self limitation of infinite Creativity, — the principle that turns Creativity into the creative advance of Nature. He is the non-temporal actualisation of the principle of Creativity. God is also the principle of concretion, in virtue of which the infinite range of abstract possibilities is arranged in a definite order for actualisation in the temporal scheme. He is the necessary factor for turning the abstract into the concrete and the possible into the actual.

It is thus clear that in so far as the world is an unceasing advance into the future, there is a need to postulate the principle of infinite Creativity. Again, in so far as the world process exhibits a determinate character, there is a need to postulate a realm of eternal objects. But the third important characteristic of the world is that it is not

only a determinate creative flow, but also an ordered progression into self fulfilment. The world is not a chaotic mass of determinate occurrences, or a confused movement of unmeaning events, but a significant cosmos characterised by the marks of order and beauty, law and harmony. This significant order of the world can be explained only in terms of the wisdom of God who envisages and evaluates the boundless wealth of possibility. If Creativity accounts for the fact that the world is a process and a continual emergence of novelties; if eternal objects account for the fact that the world is a determinate process; the hypothesis of God is needed in order to account for the fact that the world is a significant process and progressive realisation of values.

Three Aspects of God

Whitehead speaks of three important aspects of God. First, God is conceived as Wisdom, which is His primordial nature. Secondly, God is conceived as Judgement, which is His consequent nature. Thirdly, God is conceived as Love, which is His 'superjective nature.'

In His primordial nature, God is conceptual realisation, envisagement of the boundless wealth of possibility. He is the vision of the infinite realm of eternal objects. But He is not only vision, but also valuation. He orders or evaluates eternal objects in the proportion of their relevance to every new creation. The primordial nature of God is also in the nature of 'appetition' which is the urge to become fully actual, — the urge towards some realisation in physical experience. God in His primordial nature is the Unmoved Mover of the universe. As complete envisagement of eternal objects, He is unchangeable, unaffected by whatever may be the actual course of temporal events. The primordial nature supplies the metaphysical conditions which make any course of events possible. But it does not presuppose any particular course of events, since, according to Whitehead, the events which become are self-creative or concrescent in nature. Even though the primordial nature is unchangeable, it holds within itself the vision of new possibilities towards the fulfilment of which the evolving world moves forward. God in His primordial nature is, however, deficient in two respects, in actuality as well as in consciousness. Since the primordial nature is concerned with bare possibilities, it is not fully actual. Since, according to Whitehead, consciousness implies the integration of conceptual and physical feelings, the primordial nature as the unity of conceptual

feelings alone is unconscious. So with a view to fulness of being, there must be a consequent nature of God in addition to His primordial nature.

The consequent nature of God is His judgement on the world. It is God's physical experience of the temporal actualities of the evolving universe. Analogously to the nature of all actual entities God is dipolar, having a physical as well as a mental pole. While the primordial nature as the vision of eternal objects is the mental pole of God, the consequent nature as the unity of physical feelings of the temporal multiplicity is the physical pole of God. There is, however, this difference that whereas in temporal actual occasions the conceptual presupposes the physical, in the case of God who is the non-temporal actual entity, the conceptual functions as the logical prius of the physical.

The consequent nature of God is the synthetic unity of the temporal manifold. It is the progressive aesthetic harmonisation of which the actualities of the evolving universe are contributory factors. So God in His consequent nature may be described as the measure of the aesthetic order realised in the actual world. He is " the judgement of a ' tenderness ' which loses nothing that can be saved." He is also the " judgement of a wisdom which uses what in the temporal world is mere wreckage." [1] The consequent nature also implies an infinite patience in achieving the divine purpose. The power which God employs in effecting aesthetic harmonisation of the temporal manifold is not the power of physical energy whether productive or destructive, but " the patient operation of the overpowering rationality of his conceptual harmonisation." [1] God has, therefore, been described as " the poet of the world," who with tender patience leads the world by his vision of truth, beauty and goodness. God does not so much create the world which is a flux of self-creative occasions of experience, as saves it. The temporal actualities obtain their objective immortality in the immediate experience of God.

It is in respect of His consequent nature that God is fully actual and conscious. The consequent nature is conscious because it represents the interweaving of conceptual and physical feelings. It is actual because it represents the synthetic unity of the actual world. It is the positive construction of value out of the wreckage of the temporal world. It has been pointed out by some[2] that in Whitehead's

[1] Whitehead's *Process and Reality*, p. 490.

[2] Dr. R. Das's *The Philosophy of Whitehead*, p. 167.

conception of the consequent nature of God a further distinction may be noted. The first phase of the consequent nature consists in the physical realisation of temporal actualities. In this phase there is no deficiency in actuality, but there is deficiency in respect of the solidarity of individuals with one another. This deficiency is remedied in the second phase of the consequent nature in which the temporal multiplicity are united in divine feeling and are made everlasting through objective immortality. While the first phase o fthe consequent nature is actual and conscious, it lacks unity and solidarity. The second phase of the consequent nature—the consequent nature in its perfection—is, however, characterised by unity and solidarity as well as by fullness of being and consciousness.

Now by reason of the principle of universal relativity, we cannot stop even at the consequent nature of God. Whitehead speaks of the " superjective nature " of God and defines it as " the character of the pragmatic value of his specific satisfaction qualifying the transcendent creativity in the various temporal instances." [1] This is God as love. In the consequent nature, the world passes into the synthetic immediacy and perfected actuality of God, in whom the many are one everlastingly without the qualification of any loss either of individual identity or of completeness of unity. In virtue of His character as love, the perfection of the consequent nature " passes back into the temporal world, and qualifies this world so that each temporal actuality includes it as an immediate fact of relevant experience." [2] That is why the Kingdom of Heaven is said to be with us to-day. God freely gives Himself to the world as much as the world gives itself to God. The love in the world not only passes into the love in heaven, but floods back again into the world. This is the metaphysical truth behind the phenomenon which mystics call " divine osmosis." If in virtue of His consequent nature God is " the poet of the world," in virtue of His nature as love, He is " the great companion—the fellow-sufferer who understands."

It has been rightly observed[3] that the threefold character of God as wisdom, judgement and love is strangely reminiscent of the Hindu conception of God as Brahma, Siva and Bisnu. Brahma corresponds to God as wisdom, Siva corresponds to God as judge-

[1] Whitehead's *Process and Reality*, p. 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 496-7.
[3] Radhakrishnan's *An Idealistic View of Life*, p. 330.

ment, and Bisnu corresponds to God as love. It should, however, be remembered that in the context of Whitehead's philosophy the words "wisdom," "judgement" and "love" are highly philosophical terms and are employed in a profoundly different sense from what we understand by the functions of creation, preservation, and destruction performed by the Godhead.

Creativity and God

Creativity is, as we have seen, conceived by Whitehead as the boundless possibility of creation. It is that ultimate principle whereby the actual world has its character of temporal passage to novelty.[1] It is that by which "the many which are the universe disjunctively become the one actual occasion, which is the universe conjunctively." It is pure formless activity, absolutely indeterminate and featureless. God comes in as a "creature" of Creativity and a principle of its self-limitation. God is an accidental actualisation of that ultimate principle. And it is through the instrumentality of God that the indetermination of Creativity is transmuted into a determinate freedom.

What then is the precise relation between Creativity and God? Is the former prior to the latter? Is Creativity to be regarded as the highest reality or the Absolute of which God is just an accidental manifestation? Whitehead's description of Creativity as the ultimate principle and of God as a "creature" thereof, is suggestive of some such view. But a view like this cannot bear narrow examination. If Creativity be the highest reality prior to God, then we would be involved in the vicious circle of God being at once the creature of Creativity and the source of limitation or principle of determination of that indeterminate principle.

Dorothy M. Emmet suggests that Creativity and the primordial nature of God are contemporary sides of the same thing, so that the relation between the two is a logical one. She holds that while the primordial nature of God is analogous to the Logos, the order of "wisdom" in virtue of which effective creation is possible, Creativity is analogous to the creative Power of the Father, and the Holy Spirit might be described as the consequent nature of God which is the measure of the creative order achieved in the temporal world.[2] But

[1] Whitehead's *Process and Reality*, p. 28.
[2] Emmet's *Philosophy of Organism*, p. 252.

on closer examination this suggestion of Miss Emmet will be found to have little support in the philosophy of Whitehead. There is not a single passage in Whitehead's writings which can be said to lend countenance to the view that Creativity is an aspect or power of God. Whitehead is constant in his view that God as the highest actual entity is the first exemplification of Creativity, and that He is the one non-temporal actual entity. Creativity is not an actual entity, but a boundless possibility. Creativity is, according to Whitehead, " the universal of universals characterising ultimate matter of fact."[1] And there is nowhere any indication to suggest that this " universal of universals " is construed by Whitehead as a concrete universal. It is just a notion of the highest generality which underlies every type of existence whatsoever. It is, as Emmet herself explains, " the bare general notion of the possibility of there being anything at all —what is involved in the notion of " any " or " the." [2] So Sir Radhakrishnan rightly observes that since Creativity is actual only in virtue of its accidents, it is just a hypostatised abstraction.[3]

Since then Creativity is no more than an abstraction, a motion of the highest generality, God is the highest reality, the real Absolute, in the philosophy of Whitehead. But it should be noted here that God is not Absolute in the sense in which the absolutist thinkers conceive of their philosophic Ultimate. He is neither all-inclusive nor infinite and indeterminate. He is not all-inclusive, because He is not so conceived as to devour the self-creative events or actual occasions, or to compromise in any way the reality of the temporal order. He himself is an exemplification of Creativity, and cannot account for the creative advance of Nature. Creativity is the supreme irrationality for which no reason can be provided, not even by God. God is also not infinite in so far as He shares with all other actual entities the character of finitude. It is in virtue of this character of finitude that we can attribute to God such functions as selections or decision between alternatives, adjustment of valuation, etc. God is not infinite, because He is neither indeterminate nor the supra-rational synthesis of all antithetical qualities. He is emphatically good, and not evil as well as good, nor any supra-ethical mystery. It is to His choice of the good that the significant order of the cosmic process is to be

[1] *Process and Reality*, p. 28.
[2] *Philosophy of Organism*, p. 71.
[3] *An Idealistic View of Life*, p. 330.

EVOLUTIONISM AND ANTI-EVOLUTIONISM IN AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL THEORY

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The Early Evolutionist Period

AMERICAN ethnology of the latter part of the Nineteenth century was permeated, if not dominated, by the theory of evolution. With the collapse of the Christian cosmology with its doctrines of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Degradation of Cultures, etc., the new science of anthropology undertook to provide a more adequate account of man and culture. As was natural under the circumstances this account took the form of evolutionist theory. In opposition to the dogma of creation, the theory of growth and development through a succession of stages was advanced for both man and culture. The theories of biological and cultural evolution went forward along parallel roads.

We find this transition from the theological and creationist view to the scientific and evolutionist approach well expressed in the work of Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881). In his *Ancient Society* (1877) he takes issue squarely with the Mosaic cosmogony in general and the Degradation theory[1] in particular :

" The theory of human degradation to explain the existence of savages and of barbarians is no longer tenable. It came in as a corollary from the Mosaic cosmogony, and was acquiesced in from a supposed necessity which no longer exists. As a theory, it is not only incapable of explaining the existence of savages, but it is without support in the facts of human experience."[2]

Morgan's thesis as set forth in *Ancient Society* is evolutionist to the core. He sees man emerging from a sub-human stage of biological development and evolving into a uniquely human animal. He sees culture begin on the level of the brutes and develop through

[1] In Europe, also the Degradation theory was sufficiently respectable as to require specific refutation by Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Ch. II; Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, Ch. V; and Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

[2] *Ancient Society*, pp. 7-8 (all page references to this work in the present essay are from the Holt edition).

a series of stages to the present time. Each of the four parts of *Ancient Society* deals with the *growth* of an aspect of culture: Inventions and Discoveries, the Family, Government, and Property.

The evolutionist philosophy animates the work of other early American ethnologists, also: J. W. Powell, W. J. McGee, O. T. Mason, and others.

Reaction Against Evolutionism

During the closing years of the Nineteenth century, a reaction against the theory of evolution in ethnology set in. It began rather tentatively. First the validity of the findings of the evolutionists was questioned. Next their premises were challenged and before long the whole evolutionist position was under concerted attack. This assault was led by Franz Boas (1858-1942), a German scholar, trained in physics, who went to Bafinland in 1883 "to travel and see the world" (Kroeber) and to study Arctic conditions. He became interested in the Eskimos and their mode of life, however, and after a brief return to Germany, he abandoned physics, immigrated to America where he thenceforth devoted himself to anthropology.[1]

Boas was ably assisted in his attack upon evolutionism by several men and women trained by him, notably, Robert H. Lowie (1883-), Alexander Goldenweiser (1880-1940), Edward Sapir (1884-1939), Ruth Benedict (1887-) and Melville J. Herskovits (1895).[2] Some others, not trained by Boas, notably Berthold Laufer (1874-1934), joined in the crusade against evolutionary theory.

It might be worth noting in passing, since our essay is concerned primarily with *American* ethnological theory, that a number of these recruits in the cause of anti-evolutionism were either foreign born or were children of immigrants. I am not sure what significance might or should be attached to this fact. But that it has *some* significance is indicated, I believe, by contrasting them with Clark Wissler (1870-). Wissler was born in the heart of the United States of old American stock. His training and background were wholly American.

[1] For accounts of Boas' life and work, see Kroeber *et al.*, *Fran Boas*, 1858-1942. This memoir contains a bibliography of Boas' life's writings.

[2] A. L. Kroeber (1876-), one of Boas' most eminent students, is distinguished from most of Boas' disciples by his attitude toward cultural evolution. Kroeber has dutifully paid lip service to anti-evolutionism (see, *e.g.*, his *Anthropology*, pp. 8-9), but he has nevertheless made a number of attempts to work from an evolutionist point of view (see his *Anthropology*, pp. 139, 142, 360-62, 442, 446; his article, "The Superorganic"; and my essay, "Kroeber's 'Configurations of Culture Growth.'").

And although he was a student in the Department of Psychology and Anthropology at Columbia at about the same time that Lowie, Kroeber, Sapir, and Goldenweiser were there, and although much of his field work and monographic publications were like theirs, he differed markedly from them in theoretical outlook. He has never been an anti-evolutionist. On the contrary, he accepts evolutionism as a matter of course and as an important ethnological principle.[1] In his attitude toward Morgan, the "Father of American Ethnology," too, Wissler differs markedly from Boas and his disciples. While they alternately ignore, belittle or ridicule Morgan,[2] Wissler regards him with great respect.[3]

Boas had launched his attack upon the theory of cultural evolution as early as 1896. In "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," he declared that "we must consider all the ingenious attempts at construction of a grand system of the evolution of society as of very doubtful value, unless at the same time proof is given that the same phenomena could not develop by any other method" (p. 905), which is like saying that we will not accept Darwinism unless "proof is given" that God could not have created man. Later in this article he advises anthropologists to "renounce the vain endeavor to construct a uniform systematic history of the evolution of culture" (p. 908). The anti-evolutionist theme grew in Boas' later work and endured to the end.

Boas has been hailed, both by his disciples and by others, as the leader of the anti-evolutionist movement in American ethnology. "It was Boas who first attempted to stem the tide" of evolutionism, says Paul Radin, "a good part of his energies and those of his school had to be devoted to disproving it."[4] Sapir emphasizes Boas' exposure of the "fallacies and illusions" of the evolutionists. Other disciples have done likewise.

Professor R. H. Lowie has claimed that "Boas and his students

[1] "At this late day evolution as an explanation of the many forms of life is taken as a matter of course. The building up of human culture, as we have outlined it, is also considered a manifestation of the evolutionary process, and to the critically inclined, the evidence for the evolution of culture is *ever so much stronger than for organic evolution*". (*Man and Culture*, p. 296, emphasis mine).

[2] Boas does not even mention Morgan's name in his address on the "History of Anthropology" although he essays "a few remarks on the men who have made it what it is" (p. 522). Lowie once termed Morgan "the typical incarnation of the 'comprehensive and weak mind'...." (review of W. H. R. Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organization*, p. 330). See my "Evolution in Cultural Anthropology," for further discussion of this point.

[3] Wissler speaks of Morgan as "this great genius," "Recent Developments in Anthropology," p. 55.

[4] *The Method and Theory of Ethnology*, pp. 253, 4.

(have) attacked not evolution, but Morgan's and other writers' evolutionary schemes."[1] This interpretation is, however, specifically repudiated by one of Boas' prominent student, Paul Radin, who says :[2]

" If Boas and his school rejected the developmental schemes of Tylor and Morgan this must in no sense be ascribed to the inadequacies and crudities of those schemes, but rather to the fact that *they rejected all developmental sequences* " (emphasis mine).

Lowie's claim that the Boas school was not opposed to evolution *as such* is refuted also by their works and by their explicit testimony on this point, as subsequent quotations will show.

Alexander Goldenweiser wrote critiques and " refutations " of the theory of cultural evolution—which he once called " a substitute for critical thought "[3]—repeatedly for almost a quarter of a century. From " The Social Organization of the Indians of North America " in 1914 until *Anthropology*, his last major work, 1937, he continued to criticize and oppose evolutionism.[4]

R. H. Lowie has been one of the staunchest champions of the Boas school in their attack upon cultural evolutionism. His *Culture and Ethnology* and *Primitive Society* have been hailed by Herskovits as " the most telling critique of the evolutionary hypothesis of social development."[5] Sapir[6] and Elsie Clews Parsons[7] also have acclaimed it as a refutation of evolutionism.

Sapir declared that the various types of human social organization were so " markedly distinct....that (they) could not be explained by any formula of evolutionary theory."[8] Note that he says *any* theory, not merely those of Morgan, Spencer and Tylor. He asserted that the product of " the old classical anthropology " (*i.e.*, the evolutionists) was " not a science but a pseudo-science like medieval alchemy."[9] He called the evolutionists " closet philosophers "

[1] Lowie, " Evolution in Cultural Anthropology : A Reply to Leslie White," p. 227. In a later article, Lowie asserts categorically that the Boas school is not " opposed to evolution " (" Porfessor White and ' Anti-Evolutionist ' Schools," p. 240).

[2] " The Mind of Primitive Man," p. 303.

[3] " Anthropological Theories of Political Origins," p. 433.

[4] Other critiques can be found in " Four Phases of Anthropological Thought," 1921 ; *Early Civilization*, 1922 ; " Anthropological Theories of Political Origins," 1924 ; " Cultural Anthropology," 1925 ; " Diffusionism and the American School of Historical Ethnology," 1925 ; " Anthropology and Psychology," 1927 : " Evolution, Social," 1931.

[5] " Man, the Speaking Animal," p. 82. See, also, Herskovits' article " On the Values in Culture," in which a passage from *Primitive Society* is quoted as " perhaps the ultimate " expression of a specific anti-evolutionist view.

[6] See Sapir's reviews of *Primitive Society* in the Nation, The Dial, and the Freeman.

[7] See her review in the New Republic.

[8] " Anthropology and Sociology," p. 100.

[9] Review of Lowie's *Primitive Society* in the Nation, p. 46.

and declared that " evolutionism as an interpretative principle of culture is merely a passing phase in the history of thought."[1] We get no notion here that it is merely " Morgan's and other writers' evolutionary schemes " that are in disfavor. Quite the contrary; it is evolutionism *per se*.

Melville J. Herskovits is a loyal follower of the anti-evolutionist tradition of Franz Boas. He attacks the evolutionists—whom he calls " social philosophers "—with thoroughness and vigor in his essay, " Man, the Speaking Animal." He repeats the attack in " Anthropology and Economics " and again in " On the Values in Culture." He is even opposed to the term " preliterate " because of its evolutionist implication and consequently uses " non-literate " instead.[2]

Ruth Benedict, likewise a prominent disciple of Boas, tells us that " the idea of evolution....has to be laid aside in the study of culture ....(that the data of anthropology are) best studied without the complications of *any* attempted evolutionary arrangement "[3] (emphasis mine). Here again we note that she is not merely opposed to the " evolutionary schemes of Morgan and other writers " (Lowie), but to *any* and all evolutionist theories. Ruth Bunzel, a disciple of Boas, maintains that " the assumption that universal sequences of cultural forms can be established....(is) the fallacy inherent in *all* evolutionary arguments "[4] (emphasis mine). Again the emphasis is upon *all* evolutionist theories, not merely those of certain individuals. Bernhard J. Stern argues that " cultures....are too complex and....too variable to fit into *any* definite social evolutionary scheme "[5] (emphasis mine).

Finally, we cite one of the most expressive statements of the anti-evolutionist philosophy that we have encountered. It is found in an emphatically favourable review of Lowie's *Culture and Ethnology* by Berthold Laufer. It reads as follows: " The theory of cultural evolution, to my mind the most inane, sterile, and pernicious theory ever conceived in the history of science (a cheap toy for the amusement of big children) is duly disparaged (by Lowie) " (p. 90). One cannot help but recall here the words of another staunch reactionary

[1] Review of Lowie's *Primitive Society* in the Freeman, pp. 377, 378.
[2] " ....to use the term ' preliterate ' instead of ' nonliterate ' is bad..... " " Economics and Anthropology: a Rejoinder," p. 273.
[3] " The Science of Custom," pp. 809-810.
[4] " Art," p. 578.
[5] *Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist*, p. 135.

and opponent of evolutionist theory, Wm. Jennings Bryan, who said :[1] " No more repulsive doctrine (than that of evolution) was ever proclaimed by man."

Contributions to the anti-evolutionist movement in American ethnology have come also from the Roman Catholic clergy. These contributions spring from the work of Father W. Schmidt and his school in Europe, but they have taken root in American soil and appear to be flourishing.

We note first *Evolution and Culture*, by Rev. Albert Muntsch, S.J., published in St. Louis in 1923 under the imprimatur of an archbishop. The foreword begins : " It is the object of this work to set forth arguments against the evolutionary theory of the spread of culture." Chapter I is entitled " Evolutionary Theories of Culture Rejected by Anthropologists ; " Chapter II, " Evolutionary Theories of Culture Opposed by Facts." He assures his readers that " the picture drawn by the evolutionary delirium is false " (p. 31), and exhorts " sociology to abandon the....falsely speculative and evolutionary attitude....deal with realities " (p. 93).

The authors of *Introductory Sociology*, Albert Muntsch, S.J. and Henry S. Spalding, S.J., list in their Introduction seven " outstanding features " of their book, the first of which is : " (1) It rejects the evolutionary theory of culture and establishes the family and State on the solid ground of Christian ethics " (p. kiv). Chapter I " is based on the fact (*sic*) that the scientific and unprejudiced study of the history of culture cannot accept the theory of ' cultural evolution ' " (p. 7). Chapter II is " Evolutionary Theories of Culture Opposed by Facts."

Cultural Anthropology, by Reverend Muntsch, published under ecclesiastical imprimatur, carries on the same tradition. Father Muntsch is Professor of Social Anthropology, St. Louis University (in 1936, at least).

The Social Life of Primitive Man, by Sylvester A. Sieber, S.V.D. and Franz H. Mueller, M.C.S., Dr. rer. pol., published under archepiscopal imprimatur, is an exposition of the Cultural Historical School of Father W. Schmidt, S.V.D., Father W. Koppers, and others. " This book," Father Sieber says in the Introduction (p. 10), " endeavors to prove how inadequate the evolutionist interpretation was." He refutes Morgan's " evolutionist vagaries " (p. 37), exposes his " gross

[1] *Memoirs of Wm. Jennings Bryan*, p. 547.

errors " (p. 47), and calls his interpretation of kinship terms " ridiculous " (p. 28).

The anti-evolutionism of the Catholic clerical anthropologists is closely related to certain propositions which they wish to establish regarding the nature and condition of primitive man, such as : primitive man is " incurably religious "[1] and had definite monotheistic tendencies ; a condition of primordial promiscuity never existed— " some fundamental spiritual and religious basis deep in their moral consciousness....gives these poor unlettered people the stamina to maintain an ideal monogamous way of life ; "[2] primitive communism did not exist anywhere in primitive society, the institution of private property existed from the beginning ; primitive people had already some appreciation of " natural moral law " that guides more advanced peoples ; they all attack Morgan with venom and vigor, and strive to pull down " the pillars of materialistic socialism."[3]

It is interesting to note also in this connection the very high regard in which the Catholic anthropologists hold the members of the Boas school for their fight against evolution. Professor Lowis seems to be their principal hero. In *Evolution and Culture*, a tiny volume of 95 pages, Muntsch cites or quotes Lowie 33 times. In *Introductory Sociology*, Lowie's name appears on the first page of Chapter I, and some 24 times thereafter up to p. 60 ; Father Schmidt's name appears only 13, Father Koppers' 17, times in the same space. Lowie is praised again and again for his " brilliant refutation of the theories which try to set up a fixed scheme according to which all cultural development takes place."[4] Lowie's name is frequently linked with Father Koppers, *e.g.*, : " Father Koppers and Dr. Lowie have arrived independently at important conclusions which have shaken the foundations of all strictly evolutionary explanations of social progress."[5] An anonymous review of *Primitive Society* in *The Catholic World* praises Lowie for attacking Morgan, materialistic sociology, socialist philosophy, primitive communism, sexual communism, etc.

Franz Boas is lauded by the Catholic anthropologists as the founder of the anti-evolutionist movement in American ethnoloy. Father Joseph J. Williams, S.J., Professor of Cultural Anthropology in the Boston College Graduate School and one-time President of the Jesuit

[1] Muntsch, *Evolution and Culture*, p. 35.
[2] Sieber and Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[3] Muntsch, *Evolution and Culture*, pp. 22-23.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[5] Reverend Muntsch in *Introductory Sociology*, p. 15.

Anthropological Association, published a very illuminating article entitled " Boas and American Ethnologists " in *Thought*, a Jesuit journal, in 1936. In it he hails Boas as " the founder of the American school that was destined to open up a new era in cultural anthropology, undermining at the very start the entire system of evolution of culture " (p. 198). According to Father Williams, Boas " effectively established the permanent loyalty of his disciples " eventually " suppressing the classical theory of evolution among practically the entire group of leading American ethnologists " (pp. 203, 194). " Due to the initiative and indefatigable effort of Dr. Boas," says Fr. Williams, " the theory of evolution is steadily losing ground " (p. 196). Boas " has led the attack on cultural evolution....for more than a quarter of a century " (pp. 199-200). Reverend Muntsch, too, cites Boas as " the man who has done the most for American anthropology."[1] Thus we find the Roman Catholic clerical scholars squarely behind the Boas school in their crusade against cultural evolutionism.[2]

As a consequence of this campaign waged " for more than a quarter of a century " against the theory of cultural evolution in American ethnology, many an observer has been disposed to pronounce this theory dead. Already in 1911, the distinguished English anthropologist, W. H. R. Rivers, noted " a distinct movement in progress in America which puts the evolutionary point of view on one side."[3] Raymond Firth, also an English anthropologist, comments on the abandonment of the evolutionist position in his article, " Economics, Primitive." Father Schmidt observes that in America " evolutionism can muster hardly a single adherent among the ethnologists."[4] Paul Radin says that the controversy between evolutionists and anti-evolutionists " has fortunately been relegated to oblivion."[5] E. A. Hooton declares that " there is no need of describing and discussing ....the evolutionary school of anthropology " since this point of view " has been abandoned by most social anthropologists."[6]

The philosophy of anti-evolutionism has spread from the Boas school to American sociology. We find it reflected in Kimball Young's

1 *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 6.

2 In view of the foregoing, Professor Lowie's attempts to present Father Schmidt and his fellow clerical anthropologists as evolutionists (" Evolution in Cultural Anthropology : a Reply to Leslie White," p. 232 ; and " Professor White and ' Anti-Evolutionist ' Schools," pp. 240-41), and his categorical statement that Schmidt's school is not " opposed to evolution " (*ibid.*, p. 240), are singular, to say the least.

3 " An Ethnological Analysis of Culture," p. 491.

4 *The Culture Historical Method of Anthropology*, p. 36.

5 *The Method and Theory of Ethnology*, p. 4.

6 *Apes, Men, and Morons*, p. 221.

Sociology, a Study of Society and Culture (p. 99), *Introductory Sociology*, by R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward (pp. 646-47), and others.

We find the anti-evolutionism of Boas reflected too in the work of a prominent American philosopher and historian, John Herman Randall, Jr., in his book, *The Making of the Modern Mind* (p. 522).

Perhaps the most noteworthy example of the spread of Boasian influence along anti-evolutionist lines is to be found in an article by Professor George Widengren of Upsala, in a recent issue of *Ethnos*, a Swedish ethnological journal: "Evolutionism and the Problem of the Origin of Religion." Here we find a thoroughgoing acceptance of the teachings of the Boas school on cultural evolution. Godlenweiser and Lowie are quoted frequently and at length; Boas and Radin less extensively.

Critique of Anti-Evolutionism

When one contemplates the role of the theory of evolution in the biological sciences, and observes its growing importance in the physical sciences—in cosmogony, astrophysics, and in problems of energy and matter transformations—one is impressed with the hostility toward it in American ethnology. The evolutionist character of culture change is, as Kroeber says, "obvious even to the least learned."[1] Evolutionism is "the great principle," says Tylor, "which every scholar must lay firm hold of, if he intends to understand either the world he lives in or the history of the past."[2] The distinguished physicist, Robert A. Millikan, regards the concept of evolution as one of the "three ideas which....stand out above all others in the influence they have exerted and are destined to exert upon the development of the human race.... As discovery after discovery in modern science has pushed back farther and farther the age of the stars, the age of the solar system, the age of the earth, the age of the rocks, of fossil life, of prehistoric man, of recorded history, of social institutions, the evolutionary theory has come to dominate in a very broad way almost every aspect of human thought."[3]

Erwin Schrödinger, also a Nobel Prize winning physicist, declares that:

"The idea of evolution has had more dominant influence than any other idea in *all spheres of modern science* and, indeed, *of modern*

[1] "The Superorganic," p. 164.
[2] *Anthropology*, p. 20.
[3] *Science and the New Civilization*, pp. 166, 183.

life as a whole, in its general form as well as in the special presentation of it by Darwin "[1] (emphasis mine).

As a matter of fact, evolutionist theory is rather widely held in the social sciences except in instances where the teachings of Boas have had effect. We thus contemplate the rather amazing and somewhat incredible spectacle of ethnology—alone among the sciences—harboring a vigorous philosophy of anti-evolutionism. The great upsurge of evolutionist theory that followed the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859 was met with a spirited and determined resistance at the hands of theologians and reactionaries in general. On the scientific field the opponents of evolutionism were driven out of the biological sector. They retreated to the sector of the social sciences, to ethnology in particular, where they first entrenched themselves and then launched a counter-attack. The result is that the only refuge left today for the reactionary philosophy of anti-evolutionism is in cultural anthropology and orthodox theology. This is indeed a singular situation for any science to find itself in.

Diffusion vs. *Evolution*

One of the favorite arguments of the Boas school against the theory of evolution in culture may be summarized as follows: The omnipresence and magnitude of diffusion as a culture process completely neutralizes any evolutionist tendencies and brings them to nought. Or, more concisely: The facts of diffusion invalidate evolutionist theory. As a matter of fact, a number of the Boas group appear to have believed that in this one argument they had sufficient means and strength to annihilate evolutionist theory completely. Thus Lowie has declared that "the extensive occurence of diffusion.... *lays the axe to the root of any theory of historical laws*"[2] (emphasis mine). He has made this claim repeatedly from 1917 to 1940.[3] Goldenweiser, also, repeatedly argued that the phenomena of diffusion negate evolutionist theory.[4] Melville J. Herskovits and M. M. Willey,[5] Bernhard J. Stern,[6] A. Irving Hallowell,[7] and others have subscribed to this anti-evolutionist argument.

[1] *Science and the Human Temperament*, p. 83.
[2] *Primitive Society*, p. 434.
[3] *Culture and Ethnology*, p. 95; *History of Ethnological Theory*, p. 60; *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, p. 371, (2nd ed.).
[4] *Early Civilization*, pp. 26-27; *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 226; *Anthropology and Psychology*, p. 81; and *Anthropology*, p. 516.
[5] "The Cultural Approach to Sociology," p. 195.
[6] *Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist*, p. 135.
[7] "Anthropology: Yesterday and Today," p. 164.

If the occurrence of diffusion negates evolutionism, how could Morgan, Tylor and others have ever formulated such a theory? The Boasian answer was, The evolutionists simply ignored diffusion, failed "to appraise....(it at its) true worth" (Goldenweiser), or did not understand it.[1] Goldenweiser makes the amazing charge that the evolutionists simply regarded diffusion with "contempt,"[2] or "affected a cynical attitude toward" it.[3]

Thus the diffusion *vs.* Evolutionism argument has two parts: first, that the evolutionists ignored diffusion, did not understand or appreciate it, or simply regarded it with contempt; and, secondly, that the occurrence of diffusion refutes evolutionist theory. Both of these propositions are unwarranted.

The evolutionists—at least, Morgan and Tylor, to name the principal leaders of this school—did not ignore diffusion, to say nothing of regarding it with contempt. On the contrary they were much concerned with it, they regarded it as one of the major processes of culture change, and devoted much attention to it. Tylor's studies of the diffusion of the piston bellows from Malaysia to Madagascar,[4] the diffusion of a game of lots from India to Mexico,[5] are classic. Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* abounds with references to and recognition of diffusion (see, *e.g.*, pp. 62, 188, 198, 471, etc.). Far from finding diffusion in conflict with evolution, Morgan shows time after time, how they work together harmoniously;[6] culture develops in one region and spreads to another.[7] Tylor likewise comments on the fact that "plants, when once brought into cultivation, make their way from people to people across the globe."[8]

[1] Linton, though not a member of the Boas group, nevertheless reflects their views when he says that the evolutionists were ignorant "of the principles of diffusion" (*The Study of Man*, pp. 382-83).

[2] "Four Phases of Anthropological Thought," p. 53, and "Diffusion and the American School of Historical Ethnology," p. 20.

[3] *Early Civilization*, p. 27.

[4] *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, pp. 167-169.

[5] "On the Game of Patolli in Ancient Mexico and its Probably Asiatic Origin," and "On American Lot-Games as evidence of Asiatic Intercourse before the Time of Columbus."

[6] The fact that the cultural processes of diffusion and evolution may work together harmoniously instead of conflicting with each other is well expressed by Professor Ralph Linton:

"Diffusion has made a double contribution to the advance of mankind. It has stimulated the growth of culture as a whole and at the same time has enriched the content of individual cultures.....It has helped to accelerate the evolution of culture as a whole by removing the necessity for every society to perfect every step in an inventive series for itself" (*The Study of Man*, p. 324).

[7] See, *Systems*, p. 448; *Ancient Society*, pp. 508, 530; *House and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 44.

[8] *Anthropology*, p. 215.

Morgan calls attention repeatedly to the fact that culture diffuses from one people to another: "Wherever a continental connection existed, all the tribes must have shared in some measure in each other's progress."[1] Thus we see that Morgan and Tylor are quite innocent of the charges made by the Boasians[2] against "the evolutionists." Misrepresentation is a weapon that has been employed more than once by the Boas group against the Evolutionist school.[3]

We turn now to the second part of the Diffusion *vs.* Evolution argument, namely, that the occurrence of diffusion itself invalidates evolutionist theory. The anti-evolutionists have fallen into a fallacy here: they have confused the *evolution of culture* with the *culture history of peoples*. This fallacy can easily be exposed by a consideration of one of the favorite "refutations" of evolutionism, namely, the question of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron sequence. The anti-evolutionists have claimed that, since some peoples, notably African tribes, have gone, thanks to diffusion, directly from the Stone to the Iron Age, skipping the Bronze Age entirely, the evolutionists' sequence of Stone, Bronze, and Iron is rendered invalid. Many a member of the Boas group has used this very argument, some of them again and again.[4] This reasoning is, of course, fallacious. The evolutionist formula in question states that the *art of metallurgy* passes through these stages in sequence; it does *not* assert that every *people* must pass through these stages and in this order.

The confusion of the evolution as a *culture process* with the culture history of peoples was established by Boas in the first edition of *The Mind of Primitive Man* in 1911, if not in some earlier work. There, in a chapter criticizing "The Evolutionary Viewpoint," he observes that "it does not seem to be certain that *every people*....(must pass) through all the stages of development" (p. 184, emphasis mine). In the revised edition of the same work (1938), Boas declares that "the theory of a unilinear cultural development....means that *different groups of mankind*....developed everywhere approximately

[1] *Ancient Society*, p. 40.

[2] Lowie has recognised Tylor's contributions to the study of diffusion, observing that he "goes much farther (as a diffusionist) than at all events modern American ethnologists are inclined to follow" (*Culture and Ethnology*, pp. 264-65; see, also, his *Primitive Society*, p. 6; *History of Ethnological Theory*, p. 74ff). Goldenweiser, too, admits that Tylor "discussed diffusion with insight and acumen" ("Evolution, Social," p. 661).

[3] See my essay, "Morgan's Attitude Toward Religion and Science," for another and an amazing instance of misrepresentation.

[4] See Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology*, p. 81; *Primitive Society*, p. 437; and one of his most recent works, *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 142, 371 (2nd ed.); Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, p. 25; *Anthropology*, pp. 513-14.

along the same lines" (p. 178, emphasis mine). Here again we have the confusion of a culture process with a people's history.

The fallacy of this argument can be illustrated by another example: The evolutionists posited a sequence of stages in the development of writing: picture writing, hieroglyphs, and alphabetic systems. Certainly the fact that a tribe of Indians can pass directly from picture writing to alphabetic script, as many tribes are now doing, thanks to government schools, does not mean that writing did not develop in this way. The fallacy is so simple and so obvious that one wonders how it could have flourished for so many years. Only the fertile soil of anti-evolutionist sentiment could have made it possible.[1]

[1] See my "Diffusion *vs.* Evolution: An Anti-Evolutionist Fallacy," for a more exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Round the World

Retirement of Mackenzie King—

Mr. Mackenzie King has decided to retire from the leadership of the Canadian Liberal Party. In the next few months the Party Convention will meet and elect a successor. Until then, of course, Mr. King will continue to lead his Party and the Government. He is now seventy-three and has been continuously at the helm of affairs for about twelve years. If the War had not intervened, he would have probably retired from public life some years ago. In fact he has talked of such retirement rather frequently of late. Now both age and hard work which War imposed upon him must have been too much of a strain which may be relieved only by well-earned rest.

His retirement will deprive the Liberal Party of a Leader, at once strong and adroit. Some may say that he was more adroit than strong. But mere adroitness counts for little unless combined with real strength. Both the qualities are required to an unlimited extent in a person who is to lead a national party and particularly the Liberal Party in the Dominion of Canada. It was to the credit of Mr. King that he kept together the divergent elements which make up his Party and led them to victory in repeated elections. One important factor, of course, helped him in this regard—absence of strong and experienced leadership in the Conservative (now Progressive Conservative) Party. After the withdrawal of Mr. (later Lord) Bennet from Canada the weather of which was too severe for him, this Party had no man of personality and vision to lead it in the Dominion. This drawback became a source of strength to the Liberals in the country. In emergencies particularly, the general people turn invariably to strong and tried men for leadership and the Canadian electors found none better to lead them out of peril than the veteran Liberal Prime Minister, Mr. King.

With the retirement of Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Party will be shorn of its special adornment and look as bare in the eyes of the electors as the Party of the Progressive Conservatives. It should be remembered in this connection that in basic principles there is only as much difference between these two parties as there is between the Democrats and the Republicans south of the border. Consequently in the absence of the special factor of personality, the results of the next election will only be a matter of the ordinary swing in the pendulum. And it is only likely that the Party which has already been in power for a dozen years will have the swing away from itsside. There is also another factor to be reckoned with. The

C. C. F. which has been in the field for a decade and a half and has already made headway in parliamentary representation is likely to grow further in popularity and stature and this at the expense of the Liberal Party.

New Ministry in Bengal—

After six months in office, the Ghose Ministry resigned and was replaced by one headed by Dr. B. C. Roy who was recently elected unopposed to the Assembly by the University Constituency. The Ghose Cabinet, never at ease with itself, developed serious internal disagreements at the last stage. It should be remembered that although the Congress Party in the Assembly has a comfortable majority of its own, this Party is itself a conglomeration of groups, each owing allegiance to the Congress but still maintaining its own identity. It required a man of long experience, great adroitness and unimpeachable impartiality to hold together these divergent groups. Dr. Ghose, the retiring Premier, had many qualities of head and heart but had little political experience of the kind needed in parliamentary leadership. Evidently he had also strong likes and dislikes and had not much of that virtue which is so very necessary in difficult parliamentary situations—patience, otherwise one cannot explain the sudden dismissal of several of his colleagues very early in the life of his Cabinet. In any event by this dismissal his Govern- ment became seriously weakened at the initial stage and although new members were included in the Cabinet from time to time it could not regain its parliamentary stability.

The new Premier, Dr. B. C. Roy, has been in public life since he entered the Bengal Legislative Council in 1924 by defeating no less a veteran than the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea. His public activities have not again been confined to Congress and Parliamentary politics. His association with, and leadership in other institutions, some of which he helped in establishing, testify as much to his stature in public life as to his constructive ability. While again his interest in Congress politics has been intimate, he has succeeded in keeping aloof from the wrangling of different groups. This will certainly stand him in good stead as the leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly and as the Chairman of the Cabinet which he has formed.

In order that the Cabinet may be strong and comprehensive in talent and experience, some Ministers have been chosen from outside the membership of the Assembly. Under the Constitution still in force, these Ministers will be required to find seats in the Assembly in course of the next six months, otherwise they will forfeit their office. To ask existing members of the Assembly to resign in favour of these Ministers will be an unpleasant job. But so many seats are unlikely to fall vacant naturally. Consequently the Premier will have to face this situation as adroitly as he may. Six months are, of course, a long time and if, as it is expected, the new Cabinet can show positive results of its activities, everything will be smooth.

Future of the Educational Set-Up—

Future of the educational organisation in this country is beset with many problems to be solved and many difficulties to be overcome. There are some people who appear to be ready with certain recipes which, they think, will cure the malady from which education happens to suffer in this country. But they forget that sometimes remedy is more dangerous than the disease itself. It was, therefore, good that at New Delhi was held a Conference of educational experts, over which the Education Minister of the Government of India, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, presided. His speech at the Conference was a model of lucidity. He touched upon all aspects of education which required careful and earnest consideration. He also advised patience. In order that the needs of the post-independence India might be adequately met, changes were necessary in the educational set-up. But these changes should be introduced only after steady thinking and careful consideration. Medium of instruction in the higher branches of learning is for instance still English. The question is whether local provincial languages should at once be substituted in this field. Maulana Azad recommends that for five years at least the old medium should be maintained. Apart from other services which English as a medium of instruction has rendered, it needs reiteration that it has cemented the bonds of Indian unity. Because of the existence of the same medium of instruction, the different Universities and higher institutions of learning in India have the same outlook and engender the same ideals in their alumni. If English is withdrawn and provincial languages are substituted, this basic unity will disappear and the different educational institutions in different parts of the country will go their own way unconnected with each other. The result will be more emphasis upon provincial differences and less emphasis upon the unity of the cultural fabric of India. Next to the problem of medium, there is the question of the place which will be assigned to Hindi in the curriculum of studies in those provinces where it is not the local language. Thirdly, it will be suicidal to do away with English altogether in our scheme of studies although it may cease to be the medium of instruction. Such abolition will be a serious impediment to our cultural and scientific advance. What again will be the relations between Universities and Governments and what will again be the relations between Universities and secondary education. These are matters upon which decisions can be taken only after due deliberation. It was good that the Conference decided that a carefully chosen Commission will go into these matters and make recommendations on the basis of which future policy will be determined.

Progress of Nationalisation in Britain—

Nationalisation of key industries and public utilities has been preached in Britain since the last century. The Fabian Society which was esta-

blished in the last eighties and which did pioneering work in the dissemination of socialist ideas advocated gradualism. England was to be socialised not by revolution, but by constitutional methods, not all at once but gradually as public opinion demanded and as circumstances permitted. The I. L. P. which was set up in 1893 was more ardent and more go-ahead in ideas. But it also advised that socialism was to be introduced by constitutional means. The communists and other revolutionaries never found these ideas acceptable to them and preached violent procedure in the adoption of socialism. The British public, however, did not ever take kindly to it which was regarded as un-British in character. Gradualism suited best their temperament. Changes through parliamentary methods fitted in with their traditions. The Labour Party had opportunity of forming the Ministry in 1924 and again in 1929. In the former year it had no power as it had no majority of its own in the House. In 1929-31 also its position in the House was unstable and its steps were impeded by abnormal circumstances. So it may be said that it had an opportunity of shaping the policy of the Government as it preferred only in 1945 when it was returned to the House with a comfortable majority. Nor is its record unimpressive. In fact the socialists all over the world, who do not believe in violent revolutions, may take heart by the achievements of the Labour Ministry during its tenure of office of two years and a half in the direction of socialising many activities which were so long under the control of private capitalists. Bank of England, electricity, civil avitation and coal were transferred to national control and ownership and now the whole transport system has similarly been nationalised. Railways, canals, London underground and bus traffic will no longer be managed on the basis of private initiative and control. A Transport Commission has been set up and it will be the central coordinating body in the management of these concerns. British Parliament is the mother of parliaments. Let British socialism, established gradually and by constitutional means, be similarly an object of emulation by other countries.

1948 Presidential Election in U.S.A.—

Nominating Conventions will not meet before June and July but already atmosphere in the U.S.A. has been surcharged with electoral enthusiasm. Aspirants appear to be already in the field and are either sending out feelers or are actively canvassing for support. One thing seems to be certain. Apart from the official Democratic and Republican candidates, Mr. Wallace will contest the presidential office as the nominee of a third party which he has decided to form for the purpose.

Mr. Wallace has so far belonged to the left wing of the Democratic Party and was a pillar of strength to Franklin Roosevelt in his New Deal days. At first, Secretary of Agriculture, he was elected Vice-President

in succession to John N. Gurner in the election held in 1940. But already New Deal enthusiasm was evaporating in the country and in the election of 1944 Roosevelt found partnership with him rather inconvenient and even untenable. A right wing Democratic candidate, Mr. Byrd, was set up to contest Wallace for the Vice-Presidentship in the Democratic Convention. Roosevelt's supporters had to come to a compromise. Neither Wallace nor Byrd was chosen as a party candidate for the office of the Vice-President. Truman was given that honour. Wallace was not, however, thrown out of active politics by this exclusion. He was included in the Cabinet which Roosevelt formed in his fourth term as Secretary of Commerce. But when the President died shortly after his fourth inaugural, Wallace's position became shaky and uncomfortable. He was practically the last of the New Dealers in the Government which was now headed by Truman. Not long after, he had to quit but he left Government with a mission. He would save his nation from the tendencies of jingoism which, he thought, were overtaking its mind. In domestic affairs he would maintain the New Deal traditions and in foreign affairs he would seek, not a show down with the Soviet Union but, an honourable compromise with it. He made himself the editor of the liberal weekly, the New Republic, and undertook a whirlwind tour through Europe. He has made speeches from many platforms and has secured support from many quarters. But it is unknown to what extent this support will help him in the election which he wants to contest. Third party is never a favourite with the people of the United States. The Progressive Party of Theodore Roosevelt is a pointer. It made noise for a few years but remained active after the death of its founder only in the State of Wisconsin and that also because of the steady support which was given to it in that State by the elder Lafollette.

But although Wallace may not find it possible to make much headway on his own account, he may decisively destroy the chances of Truman. By this of course he will not do any harm. The Democrats in the 1948 election have not in any event much of a chance of winning. Since 1933 a Democratic President has been in office. In 1946, however, this Party lost the majority in both the Senate and the House and it is inevitable that in 1948 it will lose control over the White House as well. This will be a natural and inevitable landslide in favour of the Republicans. Only if the Democratic Party was closely united and if it was led by a man of great personality and great inspiring ability, it might effectively woo the voters. But the party is disunited and Truman who will almost automatically be elected the party candidate is not the man of destiny who can lead his supporters to victory in the unfavourable circumstances which the Democrats have to face. When therefore defeat for the Democratic candidate is practically certain, this Party should not grudge the candidature on a third party basis of Mr. Wallace.

On the Republican side it is difficult to say five months before the Convention meets as to who will be chosen its candidate. There was a proposal seriously made that General Eisenhower, the Commander of the American forces in Europe during the War and the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in France, should be set up as the Republican candidate. For some time past he has been Chief of Staff but he is retiring from this office to take up the Presidentship of the Columbia University, New York. In the 19th century presidential candidates were not unoften chosen on the basis of their military records and not unoften such records appealed to the general body of voters who sent them to the White House. But in office they did not prove equal to their past reputation. During the last six decades and more the practice of choosing army men as presidential candidates has been discontinued, unless Colonel Theodore Roosevelt could be called a soldier. It is unlikely that in the election in November this practice will be gone back upon. General Eisenhower, it appears, will prefer the University Presidentship which he has accepted to the Presidentship of the Commonwealth for which he might have been nominated by the Republican Party.

Merger of States—

Of more than five hundred and fifty Indian states which had so long been allowed to exist, few had the requisite resources in land, population and wealth to stand as separate administrative entities. There were some states (or rather estates) whose rulers had not even the income of a competent artisan. It was, however, true that not only throughout British rule all these states, large and small, were allowed to continue as entities by themselves, but what was more when power was transferred to Indian hands on August 15, they were to be free even of the control which the paramount authority had so far exercised over them. It was, however, patent to all that sooner or later most of these states must cease to exist as separate administrative entities. There had of course been a move which had been encouraged by the British Government and by this the neighbouring states while maintaining their own identity might decide to cooperate with one another in certain essential functions, *e.g.*, law and order, administration of justice, and opening up of trunk roads. But this move would not have taken the people of these territories very far on the way to economic and social progress. Besides as these states were also to accede to the Indian Union, this move would have resulted in the establishment of a three-tier political and administrative structure—(*i*) the states themselves with residuary powers, (*ii*) the union of states with certain delegated powers and (*iii*) the Indian Union to which functions of all-India importance would be delegated. Apart from the fact that such a system would have been cumbrous and politically undesirable, it would have been administratively

Reviews and Notices of Books

Saratchandra : Man and Artist. By Dr. S. C. Sengupta, M.A., Ph.D. Saraswaty Library, Calcutta, 1945. Price Rs. 5 only. Pp. 174.

Dr. Sengupta has, in a professedly introductory work on Saratchandra, Man and Artist, tried to analyse and assess the newness of the literary aspect of his writings which had endeared him to millions of his countrymen. Beginning with a contrast between the two great writers, Rabindranath and Saratchandra, who have enriched Bengali literature so considerably, he notes in brief the events of Saratchandra's life, few as they were, and then proceeds to an analysis of his stories—short and long. But it is the woman's heart and the problems of life and love which have been the special province of Saratchandra to illumine, and Dr. Sengupta has attended to it. His exposition of Shrikanta and Sabyasachi has been worthy of praise, and the study abounds in critical observations which the reader will no doubt peruse with appreciation and delight. " The novel " (the author declares with reference to *Shesh Prashna*) " expresses in art form the eternal conflict and incompatibility between reason and impulse, and even if it is true that the author does not make any contribution ideologically or that Kamal commits metaphysical howlers as soon as she goes into details it does not detract from the artistic value of the portrait any more than the dramatic significance of *Ghosts* can be obscured by the latest medical statistics."

There are, however, occasional statements which cannot be accepted without a demur. Bharati's spirited protest against Sabyasachi's creed of violence is supported by the author : " The turn in the tide of events more than justifies her doubts." (p. 98) It is difficult to agree. Bharati had, for one thing, *no doubts* on the subject ; she was sure of her own moral position, and ' the turn in the tide ' does not prove anything. Again, when the author says that ' Sabyasachi is a criminal,' ' from the piont of view of accepted morality,' ' because his mission is a mission of hatred,' he must be thinking of a higher morality than the accepted morality of the world. Bharati is described as a Bengali Hindu girl brought up as a Christian in an Anglicised home' on p. 98, but is simply spoken of as "the Christian girl Bharati " on p. 102. The English rendering of *Charitraheen* will also be considered an unhappy expression ; the same remark applies to the *Parinita*.

But the general impression is one of admiration at the way in which, within a very brief compass, Saratchandra's characteristics as a writer have been brought out in the light of his personality and his works. It is not possible, one must admit, to do justice to the wizard of words through

the English language, but it has been possible for Dr. Sengupta to explore the workings of the heart of a great lover of man who had the requisite sympathy to approach intimately millions of his fellow creatures. The book will be much appreciated by all students of Bengali literature.

P. R. SEN

Money. By Emile Burns. Published by People's Publishing House, Raj Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1-4.

Severely logical, Emile Burns, author of the well-known *What is Marxism?* has, within compass of 74 closely printed pages, analysed the nature and functions of money in capitalistic society. After showing how money originated and making clear its utility in facilitating exchanges between owners and consumers of all articles, Emile Burns proves how it is used by a small number of capitalists for the exploitation of workers who form a very large majority of consumers. In the last chapter, he explains what role money is playing in Russia at present and foresees the time when, with full-blooded socialism in operation, it will disappear.

It is more than probable that the reader will find great interest in the chapter dealing with the devaluation of currencies with its short-time good effect adopted with marked success by Germany after the First World War.

The value of this book, originally published by Victor Gollanez in 1937, and reprinted for the first time in India, lies in the very clear and convincing way in which the author has explained the Marxist point of view about money.

Our National Flag. By Kapila Thakur, illustrated by "Cockles" Ahmed. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 18.

Here the Congress Flag tells the story of its birth and its gradually increasing popularity with Indians to a little girl in a most charming manner. It is really a history of Indian Nationalism as manifested in the evolution of the Congress told in such a simple manner as to be easily understood by a child—no mean achievement as will be realised by any one who may try his hand at it. Profusely illustrated with very clever pictures, the author and the artist have every right to the gratitude of the public and specially to that of the little ones.

A Sheaf of Gandhi Anecdotes. By G. Ramachandran with a foreword by C. Rajagopalachari. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1-4.

The fifteen anecdotes, all true, collected by the author who has been associated with Mahatma Gandhi for nearly 20 years in his counstructive work not merely touch but also reveal many sides of our great leader's character. This small volume should be welcome to all admirers of the greatest man in India today.

M. B. B.

Selections from Bertrand Russell. By V. D. Salgaonkar, M.A., LL.B. MacMillan, 1946. Price Rs. 2-4.

It hardly needs saying that Bertrand Russell is a renowned British philosopher and one of the keenest intellects of the present age. His writings cover a rich variety of subjects and are of wide interest. His reputation is not confined to the coterie of professional philosophers, but extends far beyond. He deals with the major human problems and works out his independent ideas about them. Many of his works have, on this account, an appeal for the popular mind the world over. In the book under review Mr. Salgaonkar takes upon himself the task of making selections from Russell's voluminous works. And he performs his task quite well. His are judicious selections. He picks out only those pieces which have a direct bearing on some present-day problems, such as *The Value of Scepticism, The University, The Individual versus the Citizen, The Place of Science in Liberal Education,* and, so on. The collection makes a fine piece of work and a fascinating study. The value of the book is enhanced by the Introduction and the explanatory notes Mr. Salgaonkar adds to it. I wish the book a wide circulation.

ADHARCHANDRA DAS

Tales and Parables of Sri Ramkrishna. Published by the President, Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4. Pages 273.

Æsop narrated his fables to draw morals. Sri Ramkrsihna used both facts and fiction about men and animals as illustration to elucidate abstruse ideas when discoursing on religion. Mysticism in all religions hinges on *samadhi.* But what is *samadhi* ? What all the books on mysticism, including *Patanjal Yoga-sutras* could not do, Sri Ramkrishna has done in two lines. " How do you feel in *samadhi,*" he was once asked. " I feel " he said, " as the fish feels when put back to its native waters after having been confined in a pot of water. "*Samadhi* is a liberation of the soul, a journey from the cramped little body to the greatness of the *Brahman,* the immense unlimited expense, the soul's element. The *ananda* of *samadhi* is the happiness that the captive feels when set free. Is there anybody who does not understand what that means ?

In the whole history of mankind there has not been another man who had this genius for successful illustration. The Publisher of the book has exploited this genius of Sri Ramkrishna to write a New Æsop's Fables which may with advantage replace the old in the school curricula. The language is as simple as that of the Æsop's Fables but the meaning is not so easy to comprehend. The teacher will have a harder task to explain it but the labour will repay him, in more than on sense. For morality must always play second tidal to religion.

The Master and the Disciple. By D. S. Sarma, M.A., Principal, Viveka-

nanda College, Madras. Published by the President, Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4. Pages 155.

The book deals with the life and teachings of Sri Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda. It is meant for use in the Vivekananda College but it will be useful for all interested in the Ramkrishna Movement. It is an amplification of the author's *Renaissance of Hinduism* published by the Benares Hindu University in 1944. The author wields a facile pen and nothing has been left out that an average educated man need know about Sri Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda. The special feature of Sri Ramkrishna's religious discourse, his genius for the elucidation of abstruse ideas by apt illustration, has been well illustrated. The concluding pages depict Swami Vivekananda as the great Champion for Adwaita Vedanta which is not only the highest philosophy and the greatest religion but the best guide for practical life.

T. N. Roy

Ourselves

National Bereavement

As we were preparing to bring out this number, the sad and calamitous incident which has enveloped the whole country with grief and indignation happened at the Birla House at New Delhi. On the 30th of January, 1948, Mahatmaji who dedicated his life to the practice of non-violence fell a victim to violence at the hands of a misguided youth. As the news of this dastardly crime was broadcast in subdued and tearful voice from Delhi, people in the University circle along with million others in the city of Calcutta were benumbed with sorrow which was too deep for expression. Only when minutes had passed by, they realised the sense of horror which had overtaken their mind. Later in the evening the Vice-Chancellor gave expression to his own sense of loss as also that of his colleagues in the educational world in a few short and appropriate sentences over the radio. He also announced the closing of the different schools and colleges on the following day which was to be treated as a day of mourning. Three days later when the Senate, whose meeting on the 31st of January had been postponed, met at its annual session, the Vice-Chancellor moved and the Senate accepted, all standing, a resolution in which the sense of grief and loss on the part of the University found due expression. On the same day the students and teachers of the University met in deep silence in the Asutosh Hall to pay their homage to the great departed. Words were few but feeling great. On the 3rd of February a more vocal homage was paid to Mahatmaji's memory. A large body of students and teachers gathered in the quadrangle with a large and duly decorated photograph of the Mahatma placed in their front on a pedestal. The meeting was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor and addressed by the Education Minister. On the 4th of February, a joint meeting of the Councils of Post Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science was held in the Darbhanga Hall and after a short speech, delivered in subdued voice by the Vice-Chancellor who presided, a resolution recording the sense of national loss at the cruel and untimely death of the Mahatma was moved from the chair and adopted by all standing in solemn silence.

A Special Number of this Review

The resolutions which were adopted by the different University bodies and extracts from speeches delivered on the occasion will be published in a special number of this Review which the University has decided to bring out in the course of the next few weeks in memory of the Father of the nation. That number will also contain articles and messages on the ideals and activities of Mahatmaji by teachers of the University and eminent persons from outside.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Misc. R.5

It is hereby notified for general information that Government are pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapter XL-E (Diploma in Domestic Science Training) of the Calcutta University Regulations :—

Under Sub-section (*i*) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) Government are pleased to sanction the changes proposed in Chapter XL-E (Diploma in Domestic Science Training) of the Calcutta University Regulations relating to the replacement of Section 2 of the said Chapter.

Senate House,
The 8th December, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C.3277/Affl.

It is hereby notified that under Section 22, read with Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, the Darrang College, Tezpur, shall be affiliated in (1) Bengali and Assamese (Alternative Vernaculars) to the I.A. standard, in (2) English, Bengali and Assamese (Vernacular), Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Biology to the I.Sc. standard, and (3) in English, Bengali and Assamese (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, History, Economics, Philosophy and Mathematics to the B.A. (Pass) standard with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 2nd. January, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C.3302/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with sub-Section (3), of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1946-47, the Cotton College, Gauhati, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (2nd Language) to the B.A. (Honours) Standard, with permission to present candidates in the subject at the Examination from 1948 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).